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Draft Protocol Submitted at Nuclear Test Talks

LD181231 Moscow TASS in English 1200 GMT 18 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva March 18 TASS—At a plenary session at full-scale Soviet-American talks for limiting and ending nuclear testing here today the Soviet delegation submitted a draft supplementary protocol to the 1974 treaty on the limitation of underground nuclear weapons tests.

The draft details updated arrangements to monitor compliance with the treaty, which are based on an effective combination of seismic and hydrodynamic verification means.

It consistently reflects the Soviet Union's stand for comprehensive use of seismic verification methods. At the same time the draft takes into account the proposals of the U.S. side for employing hydrodynamic methods of monitoring nuclear testing and for their on-site applications.

In this way it lays down a good basis for finding mutually acceptable decisions and for an early attainment of the first goal of the talks, as set at the Washington summit, namely to make sure that the 1974 treaty will be ratified by both sides.

Naturally enough, the sides, the Soviet delegation stressed, can give their final consent to all details of the procedures envisaged in the supplementary protocol only after, and with account taken of the results of, a joint verification experiment to be carried out at the test sites at Semipalatinsk and in Nevada.

Active preparations for the experiment are being conducted at the talks.

The tabling of the draft supplementary protocol by the Soviet delegation has been an important step facilitating an early conclusion of their first phase and their transition to discussing further and substantial constraints on the yields and numbers of nuclear tests, up to and including their complete cessation.

Nazarkin Addresses Geneva Disarmament Talks

LD171716 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] The plenary session of the disarmament conference in Geneva was addressed by Nazarkin, head of the USSR delegation, who presented the Soviet proposal for creating an international monitoring system [systema kontrolya] and the inadmissibility of deploying any kind of weapon in space.

The main objective of such a system would be to determine, with the constant presence of international inspectors at the launch sites, that objects being put into space are not weapons and that they are not equipped with any kind of weapons.

Deputy Spokesman Perfilyev Holds News Conference

On U.S. Troops in Honduras

LD171528 Moscow TASS in English 1510 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—At a briefing here today, in answer to a question concerning the U.S. intention to send troops to Honduras in view of the aggravation of the situation on the Honduran-Nicaraguan border, Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said:

"If the decision is implemented, it would be fraught with quite dangerous consequences resulting in an exacerbation of the situation in Central America. In our view, it is particularly inappropriate at a time when the Central American countries themselves are making efforts with a view to putting the cause of a political settlement onto a practical plane".

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman emphasized that the Soviet Union's stand with regard to the situation in Central America remained unchanged: "We reaffirm our adherence to political methods for settling the conflict".

Bern Talks 'Constructive'

LD171423 Moscow TASS in English 1413 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—"The USSR and USA defence ministers' talks which came to a close in Bern today had been held in a constructive spirit", Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has said at a briefing.

"A wide range of military-technology and military-political issues were discussed at the talks," the spokesman said.

"The basic provisions of the military doctrines had been compared. The two sides had looked for solutions to a number of aspects of disarmament, exchanged views on the observance of the existing agreements, and touched upon regional issues as well."

U.S. Afghan Stand 'Destructive'

LD171725 Moscow TASS in English 1648 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—"The Soviet Union has taken a decision to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan. Surely, we will pull out our military contingent.

What we would like is that the withdrawal be part of the package of settling the situation related to Afghanistan, discussed in Geneva," a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing in Moscow today.

Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the ministry's Information Directorate, said that "if that desire of ours does not meet a corresponding response from the other sides, above all, the Pakistanis and the Americans, the withdrawal of Soviet troops will be carried out in some other way—as the Soviet and the Afghan Governments would find it necessary to do."

"We still hope that the international settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, sought within the framework of the Geneva talks, will be attained," he said.

There had been no movement so far on the matter because of Pakistan's and the United States' destructive stand, Perfilyev observed.

"It is clear to all sober-minded people that the Pakistani approach, represented by the attempt to link external aspects of the settlement with the establishment of a so-called 'interim' government, is nothing but overt interference in the internal affairs of the Afghans," Perfilyev pointed out.

Arab League Committee Arrives

LD171652 Moscow TASS in English 1532 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—"A delegation of the 'Committee of Seven' of the Arab League arrives here today. It was set up in January of this year on decision of an emergency session of the Arab League Council to support the actions of Palestinians on Israeli-occupied Arab territories and to promote the settlement of the Middle East conflict. In pursuance of these aims delegations of the committee hold consultations with permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, a briefing here today was told by Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate.

He said the delegation includes the Foreign Minister of Algeria Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi, the Foreign Minister of Syria Faruq al-Shara', the Tunisian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Taieb Sahbani, the head of the Political Department of the PLO Executive Committee Faruq Qaddumi and the Secretary General of the League of Arab States Chedli Klibi.

The delegation will be received by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze tomorrow, the spokesman said.

V. Walters Comments on PLO

LD171616 Moscow TASS in English 1604 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, commented at a briefing today on the statements made by Vernon Walters, permanent representative of the United States to the United Nations, in the Geneva U.S.-Swiss Club in conjunction with the

closing of the PLO permanent observer mission to the United Nations Organisation. The U.S. representative said, in part, that the U.S. Administration proceeded from the fact that the 43rd U.N. General Assembly session would be held outside New York, although it would cost more to the United Nations. Simultaneously, Vernon Walters announced that he received an instruction to enter into talks with the U.N. Secretariat regarding the reduction by 25-30 per cent of the U.S. contribution.

"An unconcealed threat that the United States intends to change its attitude to the United Nations because of the clash between the U.N. General Assembly (?and) the U.S. Congress over the Palestinian issue rang out in the statement by the U.S. ambassador", the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

"It clearly follows from what Vernon Walters said in Geneva that the United States intends to build up gross pressure on the United Nations, demonstrate contempt to its commitments to this organisation. In looking for far-fetched pretexts to justify its stance of arbitrariness towards the United Nations, the U.S. side alludes this time to the illegitimate decision by the U.S. Congress to close the PLO mission to the United Nations Organisation".

The U.S. actions look especially odious now that the overwhelming majority of states come out ever more decisively in favour of a more effective use of the potential of the United Nations Organisation, the most representative international organisation, in the interests of the world community", the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Mediterranean Initiatives Noted

LD171545 Moscow TASS in English 1520 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—"The Mediterranean basin cannot stay away from the positive processes taking place in Europe, first of all in the military-political field", a press briefing today was told by Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate.

"When addressing Yugoslavia's Federal Assembly the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev announced new Soviet initiatives directed at helping the creation of a zone of peace, security and cooperation in the Mediterranean. It is time to start moving in the direction of spreading to the Mediterranean the confidence-building measures in the military field that have justified themselves in Europe, the (?more) that for the European Mediterranean countries these measures have become a daily practice", the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman went on. "It would be also in the economic interests of most countries of the world to ensure a regime of safe shipping in the Mediterranean basin since many international trade and transport lanes pass through it. That is why any constructive considerations directed at the working out by all interested countries of principles and methods concerning the guaranteed safety of intensive shipping, especially in international straits, would be received in the Soviet (?Union) with attention and support".

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed that "the time is ripe to form an international mechanism to collect, bring to a system and [words indistinct] and order of implementation of the diverse idea and proposals concerning the entire set of Mediterranean problems". "This job could be taken on by a meeting of representatives of Mediterranean countries and other interested states", he said. "This idea is close to us and is acquiring growing urgency".

"The Soviet side is ready for interaction with all interested countries in moving towards turning the Mediterranean into an (?area of) peace and cooperation by way of a collective search for constructive solutions".

FRG's Brandt To Visit

LD171418 Moscow TASS in English 1405 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—Willi Brandt, chairman of the Socialist International, honorary chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), is to pay a visit to the Soviet Union on April 4-6, Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, announced at a briefing here today.

UK Visa Denial 'Farfetched'

LD171538 Moscow TASS in English 1510 GMT 17 March 88

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—The British Foreign Office has denied Soviet writers Viktoria Tokapeva and Vyacheslav Shugayev visas to enter the United Kingdom to attend a literary seminar at Cambridge, Vadim Perfilyev, a deputy chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, reported at a briefing here.

The pretext cited for denying the Soviet authors permission to come to Britain was that their command of English allegedly is not good enough.

"The impression is that (?what) we have is not the language barrier, but some other, farfetched barrier," the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

"The decision by the British Foreign Office, which was taken contrary to the opinion of the British organizers of the seminar, should be seen as a discriminatory action preventing the normal course of cultural exchanges between our two countries," he [word indistinct].

'Sharpeville 6' Draw 'Concern'

LD171411 Moscow TASS in English 1359 GMT 17 Mar 88

["Statement by Spokesman of USSR Foreign Ministry"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at a briefing here today, read out the following statement by the ministry's spokesman.

"The decision of the Government of the Republic of South Africa to execute the unjust and cruel death sentence passed on the 'Sharpeville Six' has been regarded with deep concern in the Soviet Union".

"Noteworthy is the fact that the authorities of the Republic of South Africa ignore numerous clemency appeals by the leaders of a number of states, international organizations, and representatives of the public, including the Soviet one, by the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and by the Soviet Women's Committee, in particular".

"I am authorized to urge the Government of the Republic of South Africa to show humaneness and to spare the lives of the 'Sharpeville Six'".

Results of UN Human Rights Commission Viewed

PM180955 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Mar 88 First Edition p 4

[Article by V. Lomeyko, head of the Soviet delegation to the 44th session of the UN Human Rights Commission: "Myths Dispelled. On the Results of the 44th Session of the UN Human Rights Commission"]

[Text] Geneva-Moscow—The latest session, the 44th, of the UN Human Rights Commission has just ended in Geneva. As is well known, it was attended by representatives of 43 member states, 60 observer countries, and more than 100 nongovernmental organizations.

Behind us lie 6 weeks of meaningful, often heated discussions on all the topical questions of the vast and important area of international relations that is the human rights sphere. Detailed expert reports were heard, and around 100 resolutions were adopted which contain assessments of the situation in countries where crude violations of human rights are taking place on a massive scale. Also, recommendations are being submitted for the elaboration of conventions on individual problems of international law.

So what are the main results of the session? This question interests not only its participants but also the international public at large. In the opinion of the Soviet delegation, the UN Human Rights Commission session which has just ended reflected the new spirit of the changes taking place in the world. It especially reflected the spirit of the growing awareness among representatives of the most varied political and ideological persuasions and religious faiths of the interconnection of our contradictory yet, at the same time, integral world. There is a recognition of a new planetwide truth in the age of the survival of mankind which is threatened with global calamities, namely, that in order to ensure international security in the interests of peoples and each individual, cooperation rather than confrontation is needed.

A world in which human rights are flouted is not a safe world. These thoughts and feelings were expressed in the speeches of many delegates and the resolutions condemning the crude, large-scale violations of human rights by dictatorships and military regimes in the Israeli-occupied Arab territories, Chile, the RSA, and other countries. It was impossible not to shudder as you listened to the eyewitness accounts of victims of tyranny and violence, whether of a Chilean woman worn out with suffering or of Palestinian or Nicaraguan women who had experienced the horrors of rampaging soldiers and mercenaries.

The fact that the overwhelming majority of delegates, regardless of the differences in their political systems and religious persuasions, unanimously condemned these atrocities testifies to the international community's growing sympathy for and solidarity with the victims of tyranny and lawlessness. Human dignity as the expression of the sovereignty and rights of the individual is becoming the decisive factor in the struggle for human rights.

The UN Human Rights Commission also pointed out the growing interconnection between socioeconomic and civil and political rights. As is well known, serious debates on this question have started and continue in the world. Since different social systems exist, so do different concepts of human rights. The socialist countries' concept—and this was noted by all the delegates to the session—does not confine itself to proclaiming rights, but seeks to provide the necessary material backup for their implementation and stresses the inseparability of socioeconomic rights and civil and political rights. In the year of the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it must be recalled that it was precisely as a result of a long and persistent struggle by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries during and after the adoption of the Universal Declaration that the world community approved this concept.

This is all the more important since the United States and other Western countries claimed 40 years ago, and still contend today, that political rights are the main consideration and socioeconomic rights cannot be granted, that is, guaranteed for everyone. The United States refuses to this day to ratify international human rights pacts. Yet as long ago as the 5th session of the UN General Assembly, a resolution was adopted which pointed out that the "exercise of civil and political rights and the possession of economic, social, and cultural

rights are interconnected and interdependent" and that "a man deprived of economic, social, and cultural rights is no longer the individual whom the Universal Declaration describes as the ideal of a free man."

The speeches of many delegates at the session, and primarily those of developing countries' delegates, showed that the desire for cooperation in implementing international pacts on human rights, which provide the only practical universal basis for such cooperation, is growing. Our country's respect for international agreements on human rights and our efforts aimed at democratizing Soviet society met with a lively response and support among most of the delegates.

Naturally, the session did not pass without attacks against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Emigres displayed the greatest zeal in this respect. Some were part of the delegations of the United States and other Western countries, others were included in international nongovernmental organizations' delegations. What a thankless, pitiful job it must be to abuse your own country for personal gain. You don't earn any special respect by doing this. The current session showed this again.

An important phenomenon of our time was revealed at the 44th session of the UN Human Rights Commission: One of the obsolete doctrines of confrontation—the myth about the closed nature of the socialist society—is collapsing. The processes of restructuring and democratization in our country have dealt a serious blow to this doctrine. The open, broad readiness of the USSR to engage in a dialogue on human rights with all countries on the equal basis of common international standards has cut the ground from beneath the feet of those who would like to teach others to live according to their rules.

As for the Soviet Union, and we said this openly at the session, we are not afraid of any criticism directed at us. No one knows our shortcomings better than we do, and no one criticizes himself more openly and deeply than we do. But we have something to be proud of. We have achieved a great deal over the years of Soviet power. The process of broad democratization shows that we want to improve what we have achieved, including the sphere of human rights.

We would welcome a similar self-critical approach from the delegates who seek only other people's faults. After all, the human rights question—and this is now recognized in many Western capitals—is a two-way street. However, it seems that some countries, while welcoming our restructuring, still think that everything is fine as regards human rights in their own domain.

Nonetheless, self-praise, declarations about the "rule of law," free elections, and so forth were unable to hide from members of the commission instances of the violation of human rights in capitalist countries. The Soviet delegation expressed serious concern in its speeches about the intensification in some of these countries over the past year of the policy and practice of racial discrimination and inequality; suppression of civic and political freedoms; and the use of the repressive police apparatus to persecute champions of equal rights, peace, and democracy.

The reinforcement of the repressive apparatus, computerization of the surveillance of dissidents, persecution of political opponents on the basis of trumped-up charges, and the sophisticated practice of "psychotherapy" in prisons and psychiatric establishments are more and more frequently coming to light in those Western countries whose representatives would like to teach democracy to others. It is especially unforgivable that in Western countries with a relatively high living standard, thousands upon thousands of people are deprived of the right to work, housing, and a decent living.

Human rights in the West would only stand to gain if real measures were adopted in these countries to ensure employment and better social benefits for the less fortunate section of the population and if civil and political freedoms were more fully guaranteed.

Human rights in Western countries would also only stand to gain from greater glasnost regarding the secret instructions which place curbs on visits by people who work for state institutions to socialist countries on the pretext of safeguarding state and strategic secrets. Calls rang out at the commission session demanding that the public be better acquainted with the special instructions applied in Western countries whereby people cannot be appointed even to relatively lowly posts, not just in government institutions but also at provincial and community level, without the sanction of the special services.

The session showed that the world is tired of double standards, lectures, diktat, and the practice of the use of human rights as a political bargaining chip. An example of this approach was the attempt of the U.S. delegation to foist an anti-Cuban resolution on the session's delegates. The Swiss newspaper LE COURRIER reported that a secret conference of Western countries was held on 8 March at which the U.S. representative declared that "the United States would regard refusal to vote for the resolution condemning Cuba or any other tactical move aimed at sabotaging the adoption of this resolution as a hostile act."

It is, therefore, all the more important that the sovereign and dignified position adopted by the Cuban delegation won the support of Latin American countries, which put forward a joint proposal to accept the invitation of the Cuban Government that the chairman and five other members of the commission visit the Island of Freedom and acquaint themselves on the spot with the situation in the human rights sphere.

This resolution won the support of the socialist and nonaligned countries and was ultimately adopted by consensus, that is without a vote. The United States, seeing that it could not win support for its draft, was forced to drop it.

The adoption by consensus of the Latin American countries' resolution on a question which had been the subject of acute political struggle for many years is an event of fundamental importance. It testifies to the further collapse of the myth about the closed nature of the socialist society, the collapse of the policy and practice of diktat, and imposition of will by strongarm tactics. The results of the struggle on this question confirmed the strength of Latin American solidarity. This is an important lesson for those who find it hard to understand that national dignity and the dignity of any civilization—and the Latin American civilization has a rich history and traditions—possess a vast store of solidarity which enables them to withstand diktat and pressure.

The adoption of the Latin American resolution by consensus is of great importance also for nonaligned countries since it not only saved many of them from the impact of economic sanctions by the United States, but also demonstrated the strength of their solidarity.

I believe that the adoption of this resolution is important also for the United States itself, especially for those Americans who are pondering how people ought to live in order to survive the nuclear age: in friendship or in confrontation.

In a resolution adopted on the initiative of the socialist countries and a number of developing countries, the UN Human Rights Commission pointed out the need to guarantee the human right to life in conditions of cooperation and trust, the need to overcome prejudices based on intolerance, hatred, and stereotypes of the "enemy image." Sober-minded people at all times understood the danger inherent in this image. The first U.S. President G. Washington called for the renunciation of the "habitual hatred" of the other side, which turns one's own country into a slave of this hatred.

So far by no means all people have heard this appeal. But the 44th session of the UN Human Rights Commission showed that most countries reject the ideology and practice of confrontation and favor a quest for ways of cooperation in the sphere of human rights.

Demchenko on Gulf War, Falklands, U.S. Election

PM171221 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[Pavel Demchenko "International Review": "The World Last Week"]

[Text] The exacerbation of the situation in the world's crisis zones strikes a note of sharp discord against the background of the general improvement of the international political climate. The worst "trouble" spots last week included the Iran-Iraq front, the Israeli-occupied Palestinian land, Panama, and Southern Africa. Passions also flared again unexpectedly in the very south of Latin America—in the region of the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands. Events in and around Afghanistan remain at the center of attention. There is no lack of predictions about whether agreements will be signed marking the culmination of the many years of Afghan-Pakistani talks. When will that be? Will matters not grind to a halt at the last moment because of the Pakistani side's intransigence?

A number of countries are gripped by election fever. They include, first and foremost, the United States and France, even though in the case of the former, the elections are not due until the beginning of November, whereas in the latter the results will be known much earlier—in May.

This review will discuss some of those events.

The Brutality of the "War of the Cities" [subhead]

Raids and attacks on large population centers, shelling, bombing, and strikes have since time immemorial been considered an extremely brutal form of warfare. The years have passed; the bows, arrows, and clubs have given way to guns, tanks, and aircraft, now missiles too, but the view remains the same: The destruction of cities which involves large population losses and the destruction of cultural assets has always been considered an extremely inhumane act. Nevertheless, even now, at the end of the 20th century, such manifestations of vandalism are in evidence. What has happened recently on the Iran-Iraq front revives the grimmest memories, and some things have never even been heard of before.

It is hard to say now what sparked off the explosion. Indeed, that is not even the issue. Far more important are the facts themselves: Iran and Iraq, it seems, have set in motion all their technical potential so as to cause as much damage as possible to each other's capitals and other large cities. The list includes dozens of names. Those on Iranian territory include Tehran, Qom, Esfahan, Shiraz, Rasht, and Hamadan. Those on Iraqi territory include Baghdad, Basra, Al Mawsil, Khanaqin, and others. By the end of the week, both sides had fired more than 80 missiles (Iraq over a distance of 650 km, Iran over a distance of 140 km), their aircraft had carried out hundreds of raids deep into the other side's territory, and the artillery has fired thousands of shells. "If the Iran-Iraq conflict has reached the stage of strikes against cities and the annihilation of the population," the Kuwaiti newspaper AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM justly writes, "that means that the escalation has reached a critical point." What events preceded that? How are matters on the ground forces front now?

Extending for about 1,200 km, it mostly keepts to the configuration of the state border. It is only in the extreme north and in the south that Iran's troops have made some penetration into Iraqi territory. Judging by foreign press

reports, the Iraqis in turn retain one or two small bridgeheads on the enemy's side. Military specialists believe that on the whole there has been deadlock on the ground for several years now: Neither belligerent has been able to secure a military victory. The Iranians, with great resources of manpower, have recently launched a number of offensives. They suffered tremendous losses and were driven back by the Iraqis, who have superiority in hardware, especially in aviation.

It was in that situation that the UN Security Council adopted a resolution last July proposing a ceasefire and calling for the dispute to be settled by political means. Iraq accepted the resolution. Iran's reply was evasive: It did not reject its essence but put forward a number of conditions, including the demand that its adversary be declared the aggressor. A number of countries and international organizations, nevertheless, tried to implement the decisions made. But the war went, on even though at times the hostilities almost ceased and the center of the tension switched to the Persian Gulf—with attacks on tankers and drilling platforms, air raids against ports, and skirmishes at sea in which U.S. warships were sometimes involved.

Then the "war of the cities," as strikes against population centers are usually known in the press, suddenly flared up with particular ferocity. The Iraqi news agency INA commented on the events on these terms: The task of the missile units and aircraft is to destroy Iran's war machine and its industrial facilities and cities. Iraq is striving to end the conflict between the two countries on the basis of the UN resolution, and two factors are helping it in this: It has modern warplanes, experienced pilots, and the Iraqi-made Al-Husayn missiles (the Iranians claim that these missiles are bought abroad, in the USSR among other countries, and that the United States and France have helped to increase their range. This explains, in particular, the attempted attack on the Soviet Embassy and the anti-U.S. demonstrations in Tehran).

How did Tehran respond to that? Prime Minister Musavi said: "The main course is resistance.... Resistance to the last building, the last person, the last drop of blood." Foreign Minister Valayati said: "If Iraq continues the attack against cities, Iran will carry out retaliatory strikes: The eventual outcome of the war will be decided on the battlefields."

The bitterness, which is a bad counsellor in policy, has reached an extreme stage, as we can see. The sides have raised the temperature of the propaganda clashes, expanded the geography of the attacks, and lengthened the list of casualties, human suffering, and destruction.

Now the intermediaries, diplomats, and international organizations have become more active in their attempt to defuse passions and offer the sides an acceptable way out of the deadlock. Libyan leader Al-Qadhdhafi has sent his representatives to both capitals. Prime Minister Ozal of Turkey has been there.

Soviet diplomacy took an active demarche. The USSR's permanent representative to the United Nations has proposed that the Security Council strive more energetically to achieve a political settlement of the conflict. It is well known that our country is a resolute supporter of the restoration of peace in this protracted war.

Influenced by these efforts, the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council has decided to end the "war of the cities" as of next Friday on condition that Iran also ends it and ceases all operations on the land front. Iran, according to recent reports, has agreed only to end raids against cities and rejects the second point. Thus the positions do not coincide, and the "war of the cities" may flare again.

Maneuvers, Maneuvers... [subhead]

How many times has it happened in history that dark deeds were committed in the guise of military maneuvers? Or, to put it another way, they began as exercises and ended with an invasion or an armed attack. It will be recalled that this is what happened in October 1983 when the U.S. Navy gathered off the shores of Grenada in order later to carry out an air and sea assault and overthrow the government of that tiny country. If we dig further we will remember, for example, the fall of 1956. An enormous Anglo-French squadron assembled ostensibly for exercises in the Eastern Mediterranean and later stormed Port Said.

Since then history has taught people a lot. That is why there is such alarm at the military maneuvers in the area of two countries in Latin America—Panama and the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands in the very south of the continent. The former are being conducted by U.S. forces, the latter by the British. The reasons for them may vary, but they have caused protests and unrest in both Central America and Argentina.

The Panamanians' concern is obvious. This small country with a population of little more than 2 million has recently been subjected to fierce pressure from the United States, which is aiming to remove the current government and General Noriega, commander in chief of the National Defense Forces, from power. An economic blockade has been declared against it. They are trying to starve the people into submission. Washington has announced that it welcomes the idea of creating a government of "national reconciliation" in Panama, headed by former President Delvalle. If that happens, it promises to restore "cooperation" with the country and even give it economic and financial aid.

The maneuvers that have begun in the Panama Canal Zone are nothing less than military pressure. The Panamanians, perhaps more than anyone else, have learned

from bitter experience: Since the beginning of the century, U.S. troops have landed on their territory more than 20 times so as to retain control over the canal linking the Pacific and Atlantic oceans. It is no coincidence that Panamanian Foreign Minister Abadia Arias said with alarm that in his opinion, the maneuvers now begun "are the prelude to the armed invasion of the country."

The "Fire Focus" maneuvers that the British Army began on the night of 8 March in the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands seem at first glance to be pursuing less obvious aims, even though in scale they are roughly equivalent to the U.S. exercises. In both places around 7,000 marines, sailors, airmen, and assault troops are in operation. The official version is that they are rehearsing the rapid transfer of troops to the islands.

As I was writing these words, I wondered: Why does Britain actually need to airlift a great number of assault troops over such a distance? It is 10,000 km, maybe more, from London—to almost uninhabited islands with a population of less than 2,000, and they spend most of the year on the mainland. Nothing but flocks of sheep roam the mist-shrouded hills. Is it a desire to demonstrate unshakability, the remnants of the once great British empire? Or is it the combat potential of a military base in which the Pentagon is interested? Or perhaps they have discovered oil there with the promise of great profits?

There is another consideration. The islands are located off Argentina's shores and are disputed territory. A conflict erupted between the two countries in 1982 because of them. The Argentines had to back down. The United Nations has urged the two governments to "resume talks so as to find as soon as possible a peaceful solution to the dispute" about sovereignty over the islands. London has to all intents and purposes dismissed this appeal, and saber rattling such as this is clearly meant to confirm that Britain considers the dispute won.

Naturally, all this is makes Buenos Aires nervous. President R. Alfonsin has decided to put the Argentine Army on a state of increased combat readiness. Foreign Minister Caputo has asked the United Nations to urgently convene a meeting of the Security Council.

I looked at the map once more. How far these sparsely populated islands are from London! What is its reason for opening old wounds, pouring oil on the fire of Anglo-Argentine tension, and creating a crisis zone in the South Atlantic? Especially when the public everywhere is advocating the elimination or at least the easing of conflict situations in the world. In my view, the wise decision was taken by the OAS, which urged Britain to cancel the maneuvers and begin talks with Argentina.

Pre-Election Marathon [subhead]

By tradition, in the United States the theme of the elections occupies center stage in domestic political life every leap year. Americans have to decide who is going to be President of the country for the next 4 years, who will be in the House of Representatives (it has 435 congressmen), and they have to elect one-third of the Senate (which has exactly 100 members).

The elections themselves are due on 8 November, but the preparation for them begins early. It is in full swing now. The main struggle has begun on the question of the Presidential nomination for the leading parties, the Republicans and the Democrats. Under the Constitution, the head of the Executive Branch may remain in office for no more than two terms—8 years in all. Reagan has already done that, and even within his party there are now several contenders for the White House.

Last week saw one of the main events of the pre-election campaign, the so-called "Super Tuesday," when the two leading parties held primaries and party conferences not in one or two states, as they had done previously, but in many states at the same time. The Democrats were active in 12 states, the Republicans in 17. The candidates have, therefore, now tested their strength in 28 out of the country's 50 states.

The U.S. press believes that there have been no sensations so far. In the Democrats camp, the situation is unclear—three roughly equal contenders remain: M. Dukakis, A. Gore, and J. Jackson. Among the Republicans, the clear leader is now Vice President G. Bush, who has far outstripped his main rival, Senator R. Dole. According to recent reports, he has decided to break off the campaign, especially since in the United States this is a very costly business: Victory costs hundreds of thousands of dollars in every state.

At the same time, it must be borne in mind that there is still quite a lot of time before November, and changes are possible. Furthermore, at this stage, many foreign policy questions are still in the background and later the candidates' attitude toward them will be of far greater significance. Questions of war and peace, Soviet-U.S. relations, the ratification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles signed by M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan, and the preparation for the new meeting between the leaders of the two great powers—these are all themes which the election campaign cannot push into the background. These problems worry the Americans as they worry the inhabitants of other countries because mankind's future depends to a large extent on their solution.

UNGA Session To Debate PLO Mission Closure

LD181013 Moscow TASS in English 0930 GMT 18 Mar 88

[Text] New York March 18 TASS—The 42nd session of the U.N. General Assembly is resuming today to consider issues related to the U.S. decision to close the mission of the PLO's permanent observer at the United Nations.

The international community regards this discriminate and unlawful move as a challenge to the United Nations by the USA in violation of its own commitments to this international organisation.

Moreover, Washington's action has demonstrated its complete disregard for the opinion of the international community, voiced clearly at previous meetings of the U.N. General Assembly convened to discuss ths issue, that the United States is obliged in accordance with the existing agreements to ensure the necessary conditions to the PLO mission for performing its functions.

It is being noted in U.N. circles that the closing of the PLO mission will create a dangerous precedent and will allow Washington in future to close as it wishes the missions of other representatives who do not suit it.

According to Isack Stanislaus Gorerazvo Mudenge [name as received], Zimbabwe's permanent representative at the United Nations, a "delayed action bomb" will be planted under the United Nations.

'Domino Effect' Feared With European F-16 Removal
PM171813 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[Article by V. Pustov under the "International Notes" rubric: "Mediterranean 'Domino'?"]

[Text] The Americans have the so-called "domino theory." Its essence consists in the premise that the collapse of a pro-Western regime in any one country will inevitably lead to the collapse of such regimes in other countries (just as dominoes stood on their edge topple one after another once one of them goes). This theory emerged during the years of the "cold war," when U.S. imperialism openly aspired to the role of world gendarme. It was used to justify U.S. armed interference in other countries' domestic affairs (let us recall the aggression in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia). This theory is now being recalled during the implementation of the Pentagon's so-called base strategy.

As is well known, 72 F-16 fighter-bombers and 7 support aircraft are to be withdrawn from Spain at Madrid's insistence. THE NEW YORK TIMES reported U.S. officials' misgivings in this connection regarding a new manifestation of the "domino theory": that other countries where there are U.S. military bases will also follow Spain's example.

Indeed the news of the upcoming withdrawal of U.S. aircraft from Spain has been received with profound satisfaction by not only the Spaniards themselves but also by many Italians and Greeks, and the inhabitants of other Mediterranean countries. But another emotion soon began to join this one—a feeling of alarm inasmuch as Washington is seeking to deploy the aforementioned aircraft in some other Mediterranean NATO country. Why? They are nearer than Spain to the European socialist countries. This means that the F-16's flight time will be reduced. The search for a new shelter for the U.S. nuclear-capable fighter-bombers reflects the desire of the U.S. and NATO military-political leadership to increase even further its already overwhelming superiority in strike aviation on the bloc's southern flank.

U.S. General J. Galvin, NATO supreme allied commander in Europe, stated that the F-16 aircraft will be stationed "somewhere in southern Europe." In which country specifically, you may ask? Greece is out of the question. Washington also associates the persisting anti-Americanism in this country with the "domino theory." The Greeks are demanding with increasing persistence if not the complete cessation of then a substantial reduction in the U.S. military presence on Greek soil. The fourth round of talks on the future of the U.S. military bases in Greece has just ended in Athens. No concrete results were secured owing to Washington's position. The Greek democratic public is demanding an end to further talks with the United States and the withdrawal of the bases from the country as soon as the term of the treaty governing their presence on Greek territory expires at the end of this year.

Turkey is also apparently out of the question since, as foreign observers point out, there is already an "excessive concentration" of U.S. Armed Forces there. That leaves Italy, whose officials are essentially making no secret of their readiness to shelter the U.S. F-16's.

However, this readiness of theirs is provoking increasingly resolute protests from broad circles of the Italian public. Italians cannot understand why they are to take on what the Spaniards are expelling. Deputies from the "Green" party have recalled that one-third of all the NATO southern flank's nuclear and conventional armaments are already concentrated on Italian territory.

Aviano and Comiso are most often cited as points where the F-16's could be sited. The first is in the northeast of the country near the border with Austria and Yugoslavia. It is no coincidence that a statement made by deputies from the Proletarian Democracy Party stresses that the transfer of F-16's to Italian soil "will nullify for Italy the consequences of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles." Only for Italy?!

CORRIERE DELLA SERA points out that there is another "ideal spot" for the Americans—Comiso. Here's why: This town on the island of Sicily is already "home" to Pentagon envoys. The U.S. nuclear-armed cruise missiles now subject to elimination, which can threaten not only the European socialist countries but also many countries in the Near East and North Africa, are stationed here. Dozens of F-16 fighter-bombers sited in Comiso could also fulfill approximately the same functions. They would constitute a substantial backup for the U.S. 6th Fleet, whose permanent presence in the Mediterranean is one of the main destabilizing factors in the

region. Its ships and aircraft do not confine themselves to ostentatious saber rattling. They have frequently taken the most active part in piratical raids on Libya and Lebanon.

The Mediterranean—through which pass maritime and aerial lines of communication linking Europe, Asia, and Africa—occupies an exceptionally important place in the Pentagon's strategic plans. It maintains a sizable grouping of forces and has more than 170 bases and other military sites there. The Pentagon regards the territory of the countries where they are located as a bridgehead for hostilities against the USSR and the socialist countries of the Balkan peninsula, and also as a staging post for the transfer of the U.S. interventionist Rapid Deployment Force to the Near and Middle East, which have been declared a zone of U.S. "vital interests."

All this points to the need for the urgent resolution of the problem of strengthening peace and security in the Mediterranean. The USSR's well-known constructive proposals—the extension to this region of concerted confidence-building measures, the reduction of armed forces, the withdrawal of nuclear-armed ships from the Mediterranean, and the creation in the area of a chemical weapons-free zone—are seen as a constructive alternative to NATO's militarist policy. The USSR is obliged to maintain its own warships permanently in the Mediterranean for one sole reason—the U.S. 6th Fleet, equipped with nuclear missiles and threatening the security of our motherland, is in the immediate vicinity of Soviet borders. If the United States, which is located thousands of miles from the Mediterranean, were to withdraw its fleet the Soviet Union would do likewise at the same time.

Such events as the meeting between the foreign ministers of the six states of the Balkan peninsula held at the end of February on Yugoslavia's initiative also cannot fail to have an influence on the normalization of the situation in the region. A definite positive shift in the readiness to develop cooperation between the countries of the region has emerged as a result of it. Also discussed at the meeting was the idea of transforming the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons. Turkey alone had an approach to this problem different from that of the other five countries, which observers explain by Washington's pressure on Ankara. The United States opposes the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans since it believes that it would lead to the isolation of Greece and Turkey on the NATO bloc's southern flank.

The Soviet Union also supports the idea put forward by the nonaligned countries of the Mediterranean of transforming this region into a zone of stable peace and cooperation.

Stability 'Shattered' by Conventional Arms Plans

PM180933 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Candidate of Military Sciences Reserve Colonel V. Chernyshev: "New Arms, New Dangers"]

[Text] Opponents of nuclear disarmament, frightened by the prospects opened up in this sphere by the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, are now advancing as one of the chief "grounds" for the need to preserve a certain part of the nuclear weapons in Europe the thesis of an increased threat of "conventional war" on the continent: The USSR supposedly has a tremendous advantage in the sphere of nonnuclear arms and will not fail to use them.

Yet approximate military-strategic parity is known to exist between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. This has long since been verified repeatedly. As for the conventional arms themselves, which both sides have, they really do represent a serious danger. But it is not determined at all by the factors cited by supporters of nuclear deterrence. So where does this danger lie? The following are the conclusions you reach on analyzing the data published in the Western press on the NATO countries' conventional arms.

First, the dangerous role of conventional arms is determined by their wide spread. A large proportion of the military expenditure even of nuclear powers is channeled into the development of general-purpose armed forces. General-purpose forces equipped with conventional arms make up 85-90 percent of the personnel strength of their armed forces, and 80-90 percent of military appropriations go to them. It goes without saying that in nonnuclear countries these correlations account for the entire 100 percent.

Second, increasingly destructive means of waging "conventional" war are appearing. The increased yield of charges resulting from the creation of new types of ammunition (particularly "differential pressure," "vacuum," and so forth) and the increased fire precision and area of destruction predetermine the possibility of conducting combat operations with the use of conventional means in qualitatively new and considerably more destructive forms than before. According to Western specialists' estimates, in 30 seconds a volley by a single battalion of a modern rocket volley fire system can rain down tons of explosives up to 20 km away, creating a lethal radius over an area of more than 1 square kilometer. In general, according to the same experts' data, the destructive capability of conventional weapons has increased by one or two orders of magnitude since World War II. In particular, whereas during the war 100 aircraft on the Western Front could destroy 1,000 combat vehicles on the ground in an average of 35 days, today the same task can be resolved in just 36 hours.

Third, as a result of improvements to arms, the effective depth of the battlefield has increased at least 10 times compared with World War II. The range of tactical aircraft has increased from 50 km to 250-300 km, and that of fighter-bombers to 500 km and more. The further modernization of artillery systems will increase their range of fire to 40 km and then to 70 km.

A very great danger is posed by the transfer of a number of NATO armies to new weapons systems—reconnaissance and strike complexes which combine air and ground means of reconnaissance and homing onto targets, as well as aircraft, missile, and artillery means of destruction. These complexes are set the task of hitting enemy arms and manpower to a depth of up to 400-600 km. According to U.S. specialists' estimates, a reconnaissance and strike complex of this type will be capable of making a simultaneous strike against 15-20 group targets, each of which is of a tank company type.

Fourth, the new systems of conventional arms brought about the U.S. adoption of the "airland battle" concept in 1982 and the approval of the concept of "follow-on forces attack" in NATO in 1984. The essence of this "deep strike" consists in concentrating the center of gravity of fire efforts on the enemy's second echelons and reserves right from the outset and thus paralyzing his actions. The declared ranges of fire effect, 400 km, confirm that this is certainly not "defense" of one's borders but preplanned strikes against troops and targets deep in the socialist countries' territory.

Fifth, certain NATO circles are striving for the speediest introduction of the most modern achievements of the scientific and technical revolution into conventional arms systems. This could lead to a new, still more dangerous stage in the development of conventional arms and armed forces. "In the future the use of the fruits of our countries' technological achievements could become a decisive factor," Pentagon chief C. Weinberger declared before quitting his post. West German General W. Altenburg, chairman of the NATO Military Committee, is also campaigning hard for a conventional arms buildup and more extensive use of technological achievements in creating the latest types of arms.

As early as 1982 a special council of the U.S. Defense Department drew up a list of 17 of the most important technologies whose development and introduction would supposedly increase "tenfold" the potential of future generations of arms. Noteworthy in this connection is the superfast growth in spending on military scientific research and experimental design work: Whereas it amounted to $9.6 billion in the United States in 1975, in 1985 it had reached $35.8 billion and in 1987 $441 billion, that is, its growth rate was twice that of the U.S. military budget as a whole.

The special post of assistant defense secretary for problems of so-called "emerging" technology or, as people sometimes say in the United States, for problems of "supersmart weapons" has been created at the Pentagon. The creation of a new generation of "supersmart" weapons, THE WASHINGTON TIMES has forecast, could change the global correlation of military might.

It is not for nothing that U.S. specialists working in the SDI sphere frankly state that, even if it "disappears," the results of some of their work will still be realized because they will ensure the efficient utilization of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution for military purposes. Automating and computerizing control systems and introducing robot technology could, in their opinion, lead to the emergence of unmanned aircraft, tanks, self-propelled guns, and other combat means and to the creation of qualitatively new observation, reconnaissance, aiming, control, and communications systems. As THE WASHINGTON TIMES wrote, the equipment created within the framework of the SDI program could also be used "for tank warfare, robot technology, and ballistic missiles within the tactical forces framework."

The Pentagon also plans to make a "breakthrough" in military hardware with the help of a "strategic computer program." Here it is proposed to increase the operating speed of computers hundreds and thousands of times over the decade and, on this basis, achieve a qualitative leap forward in the combat efficiency of all kinds of weapons and combat hardware and change the entire complex of armed forces control.

Also devoted to the same aim of achieving military-technological superiority over the Warsaw Pact are the so-called "balanced technological initiative" and the "defense initiative in the sphere of conventional armed forces," whose essence is the idea of pooling the efforts of the United States, the other NATO countries, and Japan with a view to modernizing conventional arms on the basis of the latest technologies. By creating new types of nonnuclear arms with increased accuracy and striking power within the framework of these programs, the United States and NATO are hoping to "compensate" for the nuclear missiles which will be destroyed under the INF Treaty. The authors of the said "initiatives" plan to create automatic aircraft capable of operating against ground targets, radar sets for guiding short-range missiles, miniature computers for comprehensive battlefield control, robot tanks which will independently find and destroy targets, and also other types of new-generation arms and combat hardware.

All this attests to the dangers posed to the world and to the European Continent above all by conventional arms—modern arms which the troops already have—and, still more, by those now being developed for future "conventional" wars. The improvement of conventional arms planned by the United States and NATO and their large-scale development programs are shattering the stability of the military-political situation, making it difficult to reach agreements at the talks on lowering the level of military confrontation, and preventing the strengthening of the opposing sides' mutual security.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have always advocated reducing conventional arms and armed forces. They have taken far-reaching new steps in this sphere over the past 2 years. "Now that we have really taken up the positions of destroying intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and tackled the problems of

reducing strategic offensive arms, questions of conventional arms and chemical weapons have begun to stand out more prominently," M.S. Gorbachev emphasized. "You could say that they have become acute and come to the fore." We are not inclined to dramatize the situation, as is sometimes done in the West. But there are, indeed, real concerns over questions of conventional arms. We have them, and West Europeans have them. Therefore, the USSR is inclined to devote very serious attention to these types of weapons and to their reduction and limitation, with due regard for preserving equal security for all.

Regular Round of MBFR Talks Ends in Vienna

LD171505 Moscow TASS in English 1407 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Vienna March 17 TASS—A regular round of the talks on Mutual Reductions in the Armed Forces and Armaments [Mutual and Balanced Forces Reductions (MBFR)] in central Europe came to a close here today.

A full-delegation session was addressed on behalf of socialist countries by Ambassador Tadeusz Strulak, the leader of the Polish delegation, and on behalf of NATO countries by Ambassador Stephen Ledogar, the leader of the U.S. delegation.

Next round of the talks is scheduled for the second half of May this year.

AWACS Growth Upsets European 'Balance of Forces'

PM161239 [Editorial Report] Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian on 10 March 1988 Second Edition carries on page 3 under the headline "Shadow of AWACS's Over Europe" a 1,200-word article by Lieutenant Colonel S. Leonidov on the procurement of AWACS aircraft by the British and French air forces. Leonidov details the role of the AWACS system since its 1978 introduction into U.S. service and quotes at length from an article in Britain's THE INDEPENDENT on the equipment carried by the planes. Stating that the aircraft were originally intended to provide a "radar monitoring zone" along the border of the Warsaw Pact countries, he claims that NATO has grown dissatisfied with this "zone of responsibility" and now wants to extend coverage to all of Europe, allocating coverage of the Mediterranean to the French Air Force. He concludes:

"Thus, it seems that this latest militarist venture by NATO—namely, to cover all of Europe with its radar monitoring network—is close to being realized. This step by the West cannot be seen as anything other than yet another serious attempt to violate the prevailing balance of forces on the European Continent."

United States & Canada

Yazov Press Conference After Meeting Carlucci

PM181127 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Mar 88 Second Edition pp 1, 3

[TASS report: "USSR Defense Minister's Press Conference"]

[Text] Bern, 17 Mar—Army General D.T. Yazov, USSR minister of defense, held a press conference here today on the conclusion of the meeting of the USSR defense minister and the U.S. defense secretary. He made the following statement:

1. The meeting of the U.S. defense secretary and the USSR defense minister ended today. It lasted under 2 days. Despite the shortness of the meeting, it was extremely substantive. The meeting of the USSR defense minister and the U.S. defense secretary was made possible as a result of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue being conducted by our countries' leaders. We saw it as the meeting's chief task to help to improve mutual understanding with regard to military aspects of Soviet-U.S. relations and to resolve the most important problem of the present day—that of preventing a nuclear war and ending the arms race.

The Soviet leadership firmly keeps to the course of improving Soviet-U.S. relations. Of course, it has no illusions about this but relies on life itself, well understanding the whole complexity of the real contradictions and problems. Precisely this is the basis of the Soviet concept of removing the threat of war—nuclear, above all—and shaping a secure world. We were guided by this concept during the talks with the U.S. defense secretary.

The agenda agreed in advance with Mr F. Carlucci, U.S. defense secretary, was fulfilled in full. The talks that were held give us grounds for declaring that, by moving toward each other and taking mutual security interests into account, we can arrive at a positive solution of very complex military problems.

To be more specific, we discussed questions connected with the nature of our states' military doctrines and with the reduction and limitation of arms. At the same time, in the arms control sphere we did not set ourselves the goal of substituting for the delegations' official talks or for the dialogue which the USSR and U.S. foreign ministers are conducting on this problem. Ours was a more modest task—to help to resolve the most acute and urgent questions with regard to strategic offensive arms and observance of the ABM Treaty and to prepare for talks on conventional arms in Europe, on ending nuclear tests, and on banning and destroying chemical weapons. In addition, questions connected with the military activity of the USSR and U.S. Armed Forces and also with the development of contacts along military lines were discussed.

We agreed to hold consultations on further in-depth understanding of the substance and thrust of the USSR and U.S. military doctrines. And to examine, at the same time, the possibility of an exchange of data on the U.S. and USSR Armed Forces and, following consultations with our allies, on the NATO and Warsaw Pact Armed Forces, including in order to promote the start of talks on reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe.

In order to help resolve the question of monitoring [kontrol za] sea-launched nuclear cruise missiles at the talks on nuclear and space arms we agreed to study verification methods and also to examine proposals for conducting in the very near future a joint experiment to determine the presence of nuclear weapons on board ships.

We recognized the importance and the need for working toward improving mutual understanding and building confidence in the military sphere, for which contacts and ties must be developed between the Armed Forces of the USSR and the United States. We charged Marshal Akhromeyev and Admiral Crowe with drawing up a program of such contacts.

During the meeting the sides reached an understanding on the expediency of holding bilateral consultations to discuss questions of military activity, formulate principles, and create a corresponding forum with a view to preventing incidents between the Armed Forces of the USSR and the United States.

At the same time, it is intended that the results of such discussions will not substitute for or violate existing Soviet-U.S. agreements, namely: the 1972 agreement on preventing incidents on the open sea and in the airspace above it and also the 1947 agreement on military liaison missions.

2. We held talks, seeking to find points of contact in our positions. Both sides proceeded from the understanding that Soviet-U.S. military rivalry harbors a threat to everyone. We advocated greater predictability and stability in the Soviet-U.S. military equilibrium.

We sought to better understand the logic and meaning of U.S. actions in the military sphere. At the same time, we wanted the U.S. side to understand us correctly. When we say that we have no need of war, we invest this with profound meaning. We really have no need of it. War is alien to the nature of our socialist society. In the nuclear age it would threaten to destroy mankind. A decision was adopted at the 27th CPSU Congress to create an economic potential roughly equal to that accumulated over 70 years of Soviet power by the year 2000, that is, in the space of 15 years, before a new generation of people has had time to grow up. Soviet people are confident that this program of ours will be fulfilled. This is why we need restructuring in all spheres of our life. This is why we need peace, and peace alone.

I believe that during a frank exchange of opinions we succeeded in mutually explaining the sides' positions on the questions discussed, as a result of which I think better mutual understanding was achieved. And this is very important in Soviet-U.S. relations.

The logic of the USSR's activity in the military sphere is determined by the defensive essence of our military doctrine, which is based on the task of preventing war and the principle of sufficiency for defense. Recognizing that any Soviet-U.S. conflict would have catastrophic consequences, at the Geneva and Washington meetings our countries' leaders solemnly proclaimed their determination to prevent any war between our countries—nuclear or conventional. We proceed from that joint decision in our military building and in our efforts to prevent confrontation, to lower the level of military opposition, and to promote more stable Soviet-U.S. relations.

Our understanding of the principle of sufficiency comprises—in addition to the defensive character of the military doctrine—parity and equal security, a changed nature of military activity, structure of the armed forces, and their deployment, obligatory reduction of arms and armed forces, and strict verification. None of these questions is easy. However, they can be resolved at the negotiating table on the basis of equality.

3. The Treaty on the Elimination of Soviet and American Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles which was concluded in Washington is a truly historic step along the path of reducing the nuclear danger. A great effort is now under way in our country—and clearly also in the United States—in preparing the implementation of the commitments adopted under the treaty. After all, for the first time in the nuclear age, it is planned to remove two whole classes of the most modern missiles from the arsenals. As the discussion of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in the USSR Supreme Soviet Foreign Affairs Commissions has confirmed, our military experts and scientists are confident that the treaty provisions can be reliably and effectively verified.

The treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles paves the way to further, more substantial arms cuts. In accordance with the Washington accords between M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and U.S. President R. Reagan, the task of preparing an agreement on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive arms in conditions of observance of the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972 and nonwithdrawal from it for an agreed period has now assumed pride of place among the whole range of issues pertaining to Soviet-American relations. The USSR's representatives at the talks have been instructed by the Soviet leadership to do everything in their power to prepare a good, reliable treaty on strategic offensive arms and a document relating to the ABM Treaty so that these can be signed during the President R. Reagan's upcoming visit to the USSR.

We invited the U.S. defense secretary to make his contribution to a constructive solution of the problems which are still outstanding at the talks. The conclusion of an agreement on strategic offensive arms will substantially strengthen the stability and security of the USSR and the United States and the world as a whole.

We once again emphasized the desire of the Soviet side to secure the speediest completion of the formulation of a convention on the total prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons under reliable international verification, and also to step up work on full-scale talks between the USSR and the United States on the problem of nuclear tests.

At the same time, we frankly pointed out to the U.S. representatives the contradiction in the position of the United States, which has declared its commitment to the total elimination of chemical weapons but at the same time has embarked on producing a new generation of these weapons—binary weapons.

During the discussion of the problem of conventional arms, we expressed ourselves in favor of starting all-European talks within the current year. We reaffirmed our readiness to place all the necessary data on the negotiating table and to begin a concrete discussion on all points, including the question of eliminating, on a reciprocal basis, existing imbalances and asymmetry. We are in favor of excluding a one-sided approach and of ensuring that in discussing the superiority of one side in certain respects, the superiority of the other side in other types of arms is not forgotten. The talks will be meaningful if mutual and simultaneous reductions and the elimination of imbalances and asymmetry are discussed. In this case solutions can always be found.

Our program of European disarmament, set forth in the 1986 Budapest appeal of the allied socialist states, is aimed at radically reducing armed forces and armaments in Europe (from the Atlantic to the Urals) and attaining a level of military potentials ensuring the possibility of defense while precluding offensive operations. We see this route as an opportunity, through joint efforts, to change for the better the military-political situation in Europe and the whole nature of Soviet-U.S. and Soviet-West European relations.

In addition to the proposal to substantially reduce military confrontation in Europe, we are proposing a whole complex of confidence-building measures, including some which would rule out the surprise unleashing of war in Europe. To be more specific, it is a question of reducing the concentration of armed forces and arms in the zone of contact between the two military alliances to a minimum agreed level; withdrawing the most dangerous, offensive types of weapons from this zone; creating along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO a nuclear-free corridor from which all nuclear weapons would be withdrawn on a reciprocal basis. We

are waiting for our partners in the talks to clearly explain to us what they find unacceptable in our proposals and why years have passed without any response from them.

Limiting naval forces and their activity in adjacent waters would have a great positive impact on the situation in Europe. We told Mr Carlucci that the time has come for naval forces to be the subject of talks. The situation is now such that the risk of military confrontation at sea is as great as on land. But whereas on land, that is, with regard to ground forces, serious steps are being taken to reduce the level of military confrontation and their activity is now monitored in conformity with the Stockholm document, when it comes to naval forces this confrontation not only persists but is even showing a tendency to increase. The USSR has made specific proposals to limit naval activity in northern Europe and in the Mediterranean. Constructive new proposals concerning the Mediterranean were put forward yesterday in M.S. Gorbachev's speeches in Belgrade.

Unfortunately, even the recent NATO Council summit session did not contribute to progress toward the start of talks on disarmament in Europe. It is now almost 2 years since the Warsaw Pact states proposed a specific plan in Budapest to reduce armed forces and arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. This plan clearly formulates the aims, subject, stages of the reduction process, and verification measures. It would be logical to expect the Brussels document to contain details of the NATO concept in this respect. But these hopes were not vindicated. What is more, one even forms the impression that some people in the West are perhaps frightened by the prospect of a further reduction in international tension and real disarmament. They are voicing doubts: Should there be further progress along this path? Won't the desire for disarmament gain such momentum as to be quite unstoppable?

Obviously, it is for this reason that intentions to place obstacles in the way of real disarmament are expressed with increasing persistence. In particular, we cannot turn a blind eye to the continuing discussion in NATO countries regarding various "compensations" for the intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles being eliminated. The realization of these intentions would run counter to the spirit of the Washington treaty and seriously worsen the prospects of reducing military confrontation in Europe.

The discussion of compensatory measures stands out in particular contrast against the background of the fact that, even before the ratification of the treaty, the Soviet Union has unilaterally withdrawn from GDR and CSSR territory its operational-tactical missiles stationed there in response to the deployment of the American Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe.

This goodwill action on the part of the USSR and its allies can serve as an example of their concrete desire to improve trust and mutual understanding, which are so essential to progress in the disarmament process begun in Europe by the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

The discussion with the U.S. defense secretary of issues concerning the activity of our two countries' armed forces showed that mutually acceptable solutions can be found even in this sphere through negotiation and discussion in the interests of increasing the predictability of the two sides' actions and strengthening stability and security.

The conversations with Mr Carlucci strengthen our belief that the leaders of the two states' military departments must contribute even more actively to the development of Soviet-U.S. relations in the spirit of the decisions made by our countries' leaders and to the in-depth discussion and solution of military-political and military-technical issues concerning disarmament and security.

USSR Defense Minister D.T. Yazov then answered journalists' questions.

Yazov Departs Switzerland After Talks

LD171607 Moscow TASS in English 1530 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Zurich March 17 TASS—General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of defence of the USSR, left Switzerland for Moscow today. On March 16 and 17 he had meetings in Bern with the U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci.

At the Zurich International Airport the Soviet defence minister was seen off by the Soviet Ambassador in Switzerland Z. Novozhilova, a representative of the Swiss military department and other officials.

Results of Shultz-Shamir Talks Considered

LD171553 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Israeli Prime Minister Shamir has completed his talks with U.S. President Reagan and other representatives of the U.S. Administration. Our correspondent in New York, Vladimir Gerasichev, comments on the results of the visit to Washington by the head of the Israeli Cabinet:

[Gerasichev] For 3 days, high-ranking representatives of the U.S. Administration tried to make the Israeli prime minister listen to reason and to create at least the appearance of movement in the process for a Near East settlement. The talks with Secretary of State Shultz lasted for more than 2 hours—twice as long as was planned. After that conversation an article appeared in THE WASHINGTON POST under the headline: "Shultz-Shamir: Differences Not Overcome".

A conversation took place yesterday between Shamir and President Reagan. Shamir also had a meeting with a group of senators. Robert Byrd, leader of the majority in the Senate, stated that to go along the old road to resolve the Near East conflict means to go in the direction of catastrophe. Nothing, however, embarrassed the Israeli prime minister. As noted by the local press, Shamir is insisting as before on direct talks with Arab states in the spirit of Camp David and is in essence, doing everything possible to preserve the occupation of Arab territories by Israel. Shamir did not even agree to the limited self-government which State Secretary Shultz's plan envisages for the Palestinians. Shamir also rejected the White House's proposal to at least start the process of a Near East settlement by convening an international conference, saying that he does not see any kind of positive role for such a forum.

How does the White House react to such an approach to the Near East problem? Secretary Shultz, despite the absence of any kind of results from the talks with Shamir, hastened to describe these talks as constructive, while President Reagan, in his speech before the United Jewish Appeal organization, stated that the United States does not intend to foist peace talks on Israel. So, instead of making the aggressor see reason, Washington is trying to depict him in the role of victim and at the same time is ordering the closure of the mission of the PLO observer at the UN organization. In other words, it is crudely gagging the victim of aggression, depriving the Palestinian people of the possibility of appealing to the world community from the rostrum of the United Nations.

Additional conversations—private, as the press calls them—will take place today in Washington between Shamir and State Secretary Shultz. But even without these conversations it is clear that the White House has not made use of yet another opportunity for achieving progress along the road to attaining peace in the Near East. It has not used its influence to stop the arbitrary rule of occupationary Israeli authorities in Arab lands.

Agayants Views U.S. 'Cruel Pressure' on Panama

LD171608 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] In perpetrating economic and political aggression with respect to Panama, the United States is flouting the elementary standards of international law, says a statement issued in Caracas by the Venezuelan branch of the Anti-Imperialist Tribunal of Latin America. Here is a Mayak commentary, with Nikolay Agayants at the microphone:

[Agayants] The cruel pressure currently being exerted on the Panamanian Government by the Reagan administration is not a chance event at all, nor is it unexpected in the least. If Uncle Sam were asked the question: By what right does a country that for decades has supported the most odious dictatorial regimes in the world and not long ago perpetrated blatant armed intervention against defenseless Grenada interfere in the internal affairs of a sovereign Central American state under the false pretext of the defense of democracy there? The reply would be umambiguous: By the right of the mighty. Whenever the interests of the U.S. monopolies are at stake, all the weapons in the arsenal of neoglobalism are brought into use, including the big stick. Let us recall that since the beginning of the 20th century, since the beginning of the existence of the independent state of Panama, the United States has perpetrated armed intervention in its internal affairs of 20 occasions. This time, matters have not yet reached the point of blatant intervention, but it is not in vain that the is Pentagon conducting its latest flexing of muscles, it is not in vain that it is sending to the Canal Zone detachments of specialists in sabotage, diversion, and combating terrorism. At the same time, the 82d U.S. Airborne Division has been put on alert. It will be sent immediately to the Canal Zone as soon as specific orders are given by the U.S. Administration.

Apart from these measures, and economic means of pressure, Washington also is using the methods tried and tested in the course of preparing for the military coup in Chile. As then, the United States now is urging the oppositon to actions against the legitimate Government of Panama. As then, relying on local reactionaries, energetic action is being taken to destabilize the country's economic and political life. As then, reliance is being played on a plot. In accordance with this recipe, mass disorders have been instigated in Panama in recent days. Along with this, an attempt was undertaken to organize a putsch and to seize the barracks of the national defense forces. However, troops faithful to their oath arrested the plotters. They include the chief of police of Panama, Colonel Leonidas Macias, and also Majors Fernando Aristides Valdomero, Jaime Benitez, and other officers. As has become known, the majority of this group of putschists had just come back to the homeland the previous evening from the United States, where they had been undergoing training on special courses in various military establishments. There, they were clearly given special treatment, which set them on the road of breaking their oath and of treachery.

The situation in and around Panama remains extremely tense and alarming. In conducting a hostile course against this country, the White House clearly is planning to turn it into a bridgehead for implementing aggression against other governments not to its liking in Latin America and the Caribbean.

U.S. Black Sea 'Incursion', Gulf Presence Viewed

LD172029 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1635 GMT 17 Mar 88

[From "The World Today" program presented by Aleksandr Zholkver]

[Excerpts] We end our program with another aspect of international law, this time maritime law. The point is that today is the 30th anniversary of the coming into

force of the Geneva Maritime Conventions, of the creation of an international maritime consultative body. Our correspondent Sergey Pustovoyt talked about these matters with Gennadiy Mikhaylovich Melkov, head of the International Law Department of the Moscow Institute of Law.

[Begin recording] [Passage omitted] [Pustovoyt] Gennadiy Mikhaylovich, not so long ago—last month—a U.S. naval ship violated a section of our territory in the Black Sea. How do those actions stand vis-a-vis the maritime law?

[Melkov] The U.S. State Department alleges that their military ships carried out a peaceful passage near the Crimean shore. However, that incursion can in no way be referred to as a peaceful passage. Peaceful passage is passage from one point of the open sea to another through another state's territorial waters without calling at the internal waters and ports. The passage can be conducted, for example, when one proceeds from one point of the Baltic Sea into another—into Finland, for instance, passing through the Soviet territorial waters without calling at a port.

As far as the U.S. military ships are concerned, they penetrated 5 miles into Soviet territory. It was, therefore, in that case an absolutely unwarranted incursion into the Soviet territorial waters.

[Pustovoyt] Gennadiy Mikhaylovich, recently the eyes of the entire world have been fixed on the area of the Persian Gulf.

[Melkov] Vessels of all states, irrespective of whether Iran and Iraq are at war with each other or not, are within their rights, within the framework of the freedom of shipping, to enjoy the freedom of the open sea and to carry out international merchant shipping. In this particular case, military ships and aircraft of Iran and Iraq, by attacking the vessels of other countries and eliminating those vessels, grossly violate the basic principles and norms of international law.

[Pustovoyt] We often say that the U.S. naval presence and that of other Western countries in the Gulf are a source of permanent tension in that region. But at the same time, the Geneva conventions allow military ships of any state to be conducted outside the limits set by territorial waters in any given point of the world ocean. Is there not any contradiction here?

[Melkov] No. From the viewpoint of the international law, there is no contradiction at all. First, we understand naval presence in the following way: On the one hand, it means presence of naval ships in some point of the world ocean outside the limits of the territorial waters of the shore states. Such presence is legitimate within the framework of the freedom of the open sea. On the other hand, the more foreign military ships there are in the Gulf, the greater is the danger of a nonsanctioned use of weapons against these military ships.

[Pustovoyt] So, where do you see the way out of this, to resolve this matter in the Gulf?

[Melkov] The sooner the Iran-Iraq war ends, the smaller the number of military ships in the Gulf will be, and the more stable security is going to be. [end recording]

Exchange With U.S. Officials Over VOA Published

PM140709 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 10, 6 Mar 99 p 6

[Unattributed feature under the rubric "'MN' Discussion Club:""The Voice of America in MOSCOW NEWS. Letters From VOA Director and First Secretary of the U.S. Embassy Answered by MOSCOW NEWS."]

[Text] "MN" No 6 carried Yuriy Bandura's article "Valuable Initiative - Doubtful Aims" in which he analyzed the content of certain VOA broadcasts in Russian and came to the conclusion that "the value of disinformation has not diminished any in the eyes of VOA officials - following the Soviet-American summit it seems to have grown". Bandura also stressed that USIA Director Charles Wick's allegations in mid-January that the Soviet Union had "resumed its disinformation campaign" against the United States were groundless.

Recently "MN" received a letter in response to Yu. Bandura's article from Richard J. Gilbert, first secretary and press attache of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. "We consider the allegations of Mr. Bandura very seriously," Gilbert wrote. "It is our desire to maintain the highest possible standards of journalism at the Voice of America. In addition, it is our view that the practice of disinformation has no place in the relations between states. For these reasons particularly, we hope that the readers of MOSCOW NEWS will have the opportunity to read our replies to Mr. Bandura." Attached were letters to "MN's" Editor-in-Chief from VOA Director Richard W. Carlson and Philip C. Brown, counselor for press and culture, U.S. Embassy in the USSR.

In view of the importance of an open dialogue about the role of the media in furthering international relations, in general, and Soviet-American relations, in particular, we decided to publish both letters in full along with the editors' reply.

USIA

February 12, 1988

Mr. Yegor Yakovlev

Editor

MOSCOW NEWS

Moscow

Dear Mr. Yakovlev:

After my enjoyable and productive visit and talks in Moscow in December of last year, I was particularly disappointed to read an article in the February 7 edition of the MOSCOW NEWS which criticizes recent VOA coverage of events in the Soviet Union and accuses VOA of broadcasting disinformation about the Soviet Union. If this were indeed the case, it would be contrary to VOA policy and to the statements which I made to you and others while I was in Moscow. However, the specific examples of such alleged disinformation cited by the author, Mr. Yuriy Bandura, are vague and impossible to verify. In fact, such vague references to alleged disinformation can only make one wonder whether Mr. Bandura's purpose is to comment on specific VOA programming, or simply to perpetuate a contrived, hostile image of VOA.

For example, Mr. Bandura singles out a report said to have been broadcast by VOA on an alleged political prisoner, Ivan Pankratchenko, reportedly sentenced under Soviet Criminal Code Article 70 (Anti-Soviet Agigation) to ten years in prison. Mr. Bandura gives no date or time of the alleged VOA broadcast, but claims that no one by that name was sentenced under Article 70 of the USSR Criminal Code or any other article in 1987. Although VOA regularly broadcasts reports of political arrests, trials, and prisoners in the USSR, we always take proper care that these reports are fully verified. However, in the case of the alleged story on Mr. Pankratchenko, an extensive search of VOA files has failed to turn up any record of such a broadcast.

We were able to find bulletins published on October 30 by reputable human rights organizations in West Germany which report the sentencing on October 28, 1987 of one Ivan Nikolayevich Pankratchenko to ten years in prison for allegedly distributing "anti-Soviet literature", including works by General Vlasov, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, and Andrey Sakharov. Mr. Pankratchenko is reportedly now in Chistopol Prison, serving his sentence.

Mr. Bandura also accuses VOA of broadcasting a news item reporting an increase in official anti-Semitism in the USSR. Mr. Bandura does not give the date, time, reporter, or any other specific information about this report, so it is impossible to locate the original story, if VOA indeed broadcast it. From Mr. Bandura's description, the item apparently concerned the activites of the "Pamyat" Society. VOA has indeed run stories on "Pamyat" and other such societies, with comment on their activities. Some of these comments come from the Soviet press, from residents of the USSR, and from recent Soviet emigres. Some prominent Jewish activists have indeed claimed that some activities of the "Pamyat" Society are anti-Semitic and that these activities apparently enjoy some degree of official support. VOA has at times reported the fact that such allegations have been made; however, VOA has also reported statements on "Pamyat" activities from official Soviet spokesmen.

Mr. Bandura and others might not agree with everything said on these and other VOA programs, but I want to stress that VOA has always been careful to fully identify the source of all quotations, and to provide balance in our overall accounts. Mr. Bandura faults VOA for allegedly not living up to its obligation and to my promise to run stories which are honest, accurate, and fair. I only hope that Mr. Bandura and the MOSCOW NEWS will attempt to live up to such standards. VOA is always ready to receive and consider serious, substantive, and specific commentary on our programming.

I continue to believe a freer exchange of information and ideas between our countries and peoples is both possible and desirable. I believe VOA broadcasts continue to advance that goal.

Sincerely,

Richard W. Carlson

Director, Voice of America

Embassy of the United States of America

Moscow

February 16, 1988

Dear Mr. Yakovlev:

Elsewhere Moscow News readers will have the opportunity to read the response of the Director of the Voice of America Richard Carlson to allegations of misreporting by VOA made by Mr. Yuriy Bandura in MN's February 7th edition.

For my part, I would like to comment on Mr. Bandura's dismissal as "ballyhoo" of U.S. objections to the latest example of the spread of disinformation about the United States by TASS. Mr Bandura claims not to understand what "prompted" the director of the U.S. Information Agency, Charles Wick, to object to TASS's so-called "reporting."

The readers of MOSCOW NEWS might better understand the U.S. concern if they were aware that on January 9 TASS on its world-wide English-language service relayed "a news story" of highly suspicious documentation which had appeared in a newspaper in Accra, Ghana, on December 4. The story and the TASS report claimed that the United States had developed and provided South Africa with a weapon which distinguishes its victims by the color of their skin, and, therefore, kills only blacks. TASS even added new, untruthful material not found in the original Ghanaian report and headlined the story "USA Helps South Africa in Developing Chemical Weapons."

The claim of a so-called ethnic weapon is a crude lie. It is one thing for a small newspaper in a small country to be fooled by whomever provided this so-called "story" to them. It is quite another thing for the official news agency of the Soviet Union, with global reach and sophisticated resources, to distribute such a story which is a complete fabrication and an attempt to deceive.

This is why Mr. Wick and others spoke out and will continue to speak out whenever official organs of the Soviet Union perpetrate such disinformation. Like Mr. Bandura, we believe that disinformation and the spreading of lies have no place in a mature, productive and positive relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union. Although errors in news reporting and attempts by both countries to explain their policies to the world public will be with us as long as our nations remain competitive, disinformation is quite another matter.

Now that Mr. Bandura has brought his critical eye to the reporting of the Voice of America, may I suggest that he turn his attention to the editors of TASS?

Thank you for the opportunity to respond.

Best regards to the readers of the MOSCOW NEWS.

Sincerely,

Philip C. Brown

Counselor for Press and Culture

MOSCOW NEWS,

16/2 Gorky St, Moscow

Dear Sirs,

We can well understand your feelings about the notes of our observer, "Valuable Initiative - Doubtful Aims".

Mr. Carlson was seriously disconcerted by the fact that MN did not mention the exact date or time of the VOA disinformation broadcast. We should like to use this opportunity to clarify this point.

The news of Ivan Pankratcjenko's being sentenced for anti-Soviet agitation was broadcast about 2 a.m. (Moscow time) on December 30, 1987 by a member of the VOA European staff, Mr. Dan Day. The allegations that "in the USSR public opinion is being prepared to blame the Jews for any errors or failures which society may face in the future" were broadcast sometime between January 20 and 25, 1988, with reference to the WASHINGTON TIMES. Variations on the same theme turned up in VOA broadcasts in mid-February.

Considering the fact that Mr. Carlson does not dispute the disinformation nature of those stories, we might hopefully consider the matter closed.

As for Mr. Brown's letter, we regard it as an attempt to inform Soviet readers of the arguments USIA Director Charles Wick has used to justify his allegations about the Soviet Union having "resumed its disinformation campaign against the United States".

Anyway, we can note with satisfaction that each one of us and all of us together - Mr. Carlsson, Mr. Brown, Mr. Gilbert, and the MN editors - agree that "the practice of disinformation has no place in the relations between states", that "disinformation and the spreading of lies have no place in a mature, productive and positive relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union". Apparently, all we have to do is see to it that our noble principles are put into practice.

Making no claims as to the finality of our opinions, we would like to propose the following for joint consideration and discussion.

First, we believe it desirable to try and work out together (this task is too enormous to be tackled single-handedly) a general philosophical concept of the role of the media in furthering Soviet-American relations. So far, points of contact in that area have been few. For the Soviet Union, as Mikhail Gorbachev has written in his book, Perestroika and New Thinking for Our Country and the Whole World, "The United States is a power with whom we shall have to live and build relations. This is a reality. For all the contradictory nature of our relationships it is obvious that we can do nothing in terms of securing peace without the US, and without us the US also will accomplish nothing. There is no getting away from each other. Contacts and a dialogue are needed; we must look for ways to improve our relationship." In the United States, many prefer a different, in fact a diametrically opposite approach. Charles Wick, for one, considers the activities of USIA (including VOA) as a war against the Soviet Union ("We are in a state of war, whether a de facto war, or a declared war", he said seven years ago upon taking up his post as USIA director).

A la guerre comme a la guerre: You can't afford to be choosy about your means when you are at war. Perhaps accusing the USSR of waging a "disinformation campaign against the United States" is one of those means?

Otherwise, it is impossible to explain Mr. Wick's failure to raise the same objections in September 1986 when American research on biological weapons was reported by none other than the US-based "Foundation on Economic Trends" in a paper prepared for the Geneva conference on bacteriological (biological) and toxic weapons. Why didn't Mr. Wick discern "the hand of Moscow" in the French newspaper LE MONDE's report (February 23-March 1, 1987) about the Cancer Research Centre in Fort Detrick, Maryland, "continuing secret military projects to develop biological weapons"?

Why should world attention be drawn to an item in "a small newspaper in a small country" and TASS's routine report on it, when similar reports abound in the Western press? There can be only one reason for that: the "warlike" attitude toward the exchange of information and ideas, an attitude that allows for "double standards".

As long as such an attitude persists, we are doomed to confrontation, and situations like the one the Voice of America has found itself in. While broadcasting "news" of a non-existent "political prisoner", VOA referred to the report published in Frankfurt on the Main by the international Human Rights Society. It seems more likely, however, that in this case VOA has fallen prey to its predilection for stories painting the Soviet Union black. Additional investigation by MN has proved there is no convict named Pankratchenko serving a term in Chistopol Prison, nor has there ever been.

Hence the following proposal: Wouldn't it be more reasonable to stop darting, like hungry pikes, at every "story" and "news item" that will only inflict pain upon your opponent? Wouldn't it be nobler and more productive for our peoples to concentrate the media's efforts on putting into practice the intentions formulated in the motto: "We want to be understood"? Understood not only as individuals, but also as peoples and nations?

Alas, we still have a long way to go to reach an understanding. What's worse, the latest Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee noted that the West has been stepping up efforts to transfer the ideological struggle surrounding perestroyka and disarmament ("the global war of ideas", to use Charles Wick's phrase) onto Soviet territory, and wage it from within. This is perfectly in line with the policy proposed earlier by VOA's Deputy Director Mr. Nicolaides: "We must try to destablize the Soviet Union and its satellites by encouraging discord among the peoples and the government".

Presumably, none of you, gentlemen, would openly subscribe to such views. This is very refreshing, of course. Disinformation and the spreading of lies, as methods of "communication", are an insult to every honest person's dignity, and injurious to our nations. It is precisely for this reason that those methods are unacceptable to the Soviet Union. Also, we see no reason why those amoral practices should not become unacceptable to the United States.

We hope our reply will reach not only our own readers, but also listeners of the Voice of America.

Dobrynin, Armand Hammer Discuss Cooperation

LD172331 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Dobrynin, CPSU Central Committee secretary, had a discussion today with Hammer, prominent representative of U.S. business circles and public figure. Hammer emphasized in the discussion that after Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to the United States the striving toward extending mutually advantageous trade and other forms of economic cooperation between our countries, is growing in U.S. business circles.

Nikonov Holds Talks With U.S. Businessman

LD161600 Moscow TASS in English 1516 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—Vadim Nikonov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today received Ronald Kendall, a prominent representative of the U.S. business community, [words indistinct] company executive committee chairman, at his request.

They held a substantive talk on the current stage and prospects for the development of trade and economic ties between the USSR and the United States, including in the sphere of the agri-industrial production. The sides expressed the uniform view that the favourable opportunities for extending mutually profitable economic ties in a variety of areas of the two countries' cooperation, which are opening up now, should be put to a more vigorous use. this would be an important factor of strengthening Soviet-U.S. relations on the whole on a constructive basis.

Northeast Asia

Yakovlev, Batmonh Discuss Restructuring

PM161623 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "High Appraisal"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 15 Mar—J. Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Mongolian People's Great Hural Presidium, today received A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is here on a working visit at the invitation of the MPRP Central Committee.

The Mongolian leader briefed him on progress made in implementing the decisions of the 19th party congress and subsequent MPRP Central Committee plenums. The main tasks at the present stage are to improve the economic mechanism, strengthen socialist democracy, and establish a businesslike atmosphere. The party's

active ideological and educational work is expected to ensure the solution of these tasks. It is essential to focus this work directly on the labor collectives and increase militancy and assertiveness.

All-around cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries has decisive significance in the task of accelerating socialist building in Mongolia, J. Batmonh stressed. Our country, he said, will continue to actively participate in the socialist division of labor.

The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee acquainted the Mongolian side in detail on restructuring in the Soviet Union, the substance and special features of CPSU ideological activity at the present stage, the development of democratization and glasnost, and working people's mastery of the new economic conditions.

During the meeting the sides noted the full coincidence of the two fraternal countries' views on topical international problems. They emphasized the importance of the Soviet Union and the United States signing the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and the need to reach an agreement on a large reduction in strategic offensive weapons.

The sides highly appraised the significance of the long-term program for cooperation in ideology, culture, science, and education agreed between the MPRP and the CPSU.

D. Sodnom, member of the MPRP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Mongolian Council of Ministers, and other Mongolian leaders took part in the meeting, which proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship and full mutual understanding.

Today A.N. Yakovlev laid a wreath at the V.I. Lenin Memorial in Ulaanbaatar. He also laid a wreath at the burial vault of D. Sukhe Bator and Kh. Choibalsan.

ROK Response to Panmunjom Talks Offer Deplored

PM170943 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Mar 88 First Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Dialogue Needed"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 10 Mar—The DPRK has again proposed holding a preparatory meeting on 28 March this year on the demarcation line at Panmunjom for convening a joint conference of North and South on questions of disarmament and detente in Korea. This was stated in a letter sent by Ho Tam, member of the Workers Party of Korea (WPK) Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the WPK Central Committee, and chairman of the preparatory committee for the joint conference, to the authorities, political parties, and social organizations in the South.

Commenting on this proposal, the newspaper NODONG SINMUN emphasized that the DPRK's new appeal is "a further clear reflection of the republic's firm stand and sincere, honest efforts."

It can only be deplored, the newspaper noted, that the South Korean side "is creating artificial difficulties" in the way of dialogue. For example, there has still been no response to our initial proposal to convene a joint conference of North and South. South Korean ruling circles have published the findings of an "investigation" into the incident involving the disappearance of a South Korean aircraft which lays all the blame on the DPRK, and the joint military maneuvers "Team Spirit-88" have begun with the United States. None of this helps to ease tension.

Plenum of Workers Party of Korea Reported

PM171903 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Plenum Held"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 11 Mar—A routine plenum of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] Central Committee under the chairmanship of Kim Il-song, general secretary of the WPK Central Committee and president of the DPRK, was held 7 through 11 March, an information report disseminated here today states. The plenum examined the questions "On the Achievement of a New Revolutionary Breakthrough in the Development of Science and Education" and "On the Improvement and Strengthening of the Work of the National Health System." Reports on these points on the agenda were delivered by Choe Tae-pok, secretary of the WPK Central Committee, and DPRK Health Minister Yi Chong-yol. Kim Il-song, general secretary of the WPK Central Committee and president of the DPRK, delivered the closing speeches on the questions under discussion.

The resolutions adopted defined specific tasks in bringing science and technology in the country up to a new level and outlined measures for strengthening the material base of science, public education, and health care. The plenum also examined an organizational question. Kye Ung-tae, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the WPK Central Committee, was elected a member of the WPK Central Committee Politburo.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Vietnamese Initiative on Islands Endorsed

LD180739 Moscow TASS in English 0642 GMT 18 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 18 TASS—Today's issue of the newspaper PRAVDA carries a signed article titled "A Positive Initiative". Follows the text of the article:

"Stronger tension has been reported in the last few days around the island territories in the South China Sea which are situated on the busy sea and air routes having major strategic and economic significance.

The Spratly Island have for a long time been the bone of contention for a number of Asian nations. Things went as far as armed clashes in the vicinity of the archipelago between China's and Vietnam's vessels. Both sides issued statements about what had happened.

Those developments have certainly caused the anxiety of all those who are interested in a healthier climate in South-East Asia, with the situation there complicated as it is.

In the new aggravated situation, Vietnam advanced proposals aimed at eliminating the differences by political means.

The note Vietnam's Foreign Ministry addressed on March 17 to China's Foreign Ministry expressed Vietnam's readiness to begin talks on contentious borderline issues, including that of Spratly island.

The note proposed that the two countries send their delegations and agree on the level of the talks, their date and location.

It was also suggested that until then both sides abstain from the use of force.

Vietnam's diplomatic initiative is an additional example of its goodwill and desire to settle problems at the negotiating table to the benefit of peace in the region.

That country's constructive stand has the support of the Soviet Union which has consistently and unswervingly called for a peaceful resolution of any complicated international problems on the basis of a balanced approach and a search for mutually acceptable arrangements.

Now, that the idea of a dialogue is confidently gaining ground in international relations, this is the only reasonable way to settle contentious international issues including territorial disputes.

It is essential to apply mutual restraint and exclude actions that might aggravate the situation in South-East Asia".

Rogachev Meets Ministers in Phnom Penh

LD180924 Moscow TASS in English 0844 GMT 18 Mar 88

[Text] Phnom Penh March 18 TASS—The course for national reconciliation put forth by the Kampuchean Government finds a broad support both inside and outside Kampuchea and creates favourable conditions for settling existing issues peacefully. This was pointed out at a meeting of deputy foreign ministers of Kampuchea, Laos, Vietnam and the USSR on problems of a Kampuchean settlement and the situation in Southeast Asia. The meeting was held in Phnom Penh on March 16-17.

Meeting participants stated that positive changes had been achieved in this direction in the recent past and spoke out for continuing the dialogue between Hun Sen, chairman of the Kampuchean Council of Ministers, and Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

The sides pointed to the importance of coordinating the efforts of Kampuchea, Laos, Vietnam and the USSR in a political settlement of the Kampuchea situation in the interests of Kampuchean people, for the sake of strengthening peace and security in Southeast Asia and the Asian and Pacific region. The Soviet Union, Vietnam and Laos confirmed their readiness to contribute, together with other interested states, to tackling the Kampuchean problem.

On the Soviet side USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev took part in the meeting which was held in an atmosphere of friendship, solidarity and brotherhood.

Meeting participants were received by Hun Sen.

Talyzin Delegation Holds Talks in Hanoi

Meets PRK, Laotian Leaders

PM181115 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Exchange of Opinions"]

[Text] Hanoi, 15 Mar—A Soviet party and government delegation headed by N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, which has been taking part in the funereal events in connection with the death of Pham Hung, member of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, met today in Hanoi with a PRK party and government delegation headed by Hun Sen, member of the KPRP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers.

During the conversation, which took place in a fraternal atmosphere, questions of Soviet-Cambodian relations were examined and a comradely exchange of opinions on topical international problems took place. The Soviet side expressed support for the policy of national reconciliation proclaimed by the PRK Government and for the efforts of the countries of Indochina in the interests of settling the Cambodian problem and organizing dialogue between the states of the region with a view to normalizing the situation in Southeast Asia.

The sides confirmed their desire to continue to develop cooperation between the CPSU and the KPRP, the USSR and the PRK in the interests of the cause of peace in Asia and throughout the world.

The Soviet delegation met today in Hanoi with a Lao party and government delegation headed by Nouhak Phoumsavan, member of the Laos People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the Lao Council of Ministers.

In the course of the conversation, which took place in a cordial, comradely atmosphere, the sides noted with satisfaction the successful development of Soviet-Lao relations. It was pointed out that the USSR supports the constructive efforts of Laos and the countries of Indochina designed to stabilize the situation in Southeast Asia,

The Lao side displayed profound interest in the fundamental restructuring under way in the Soviet Union of all spheres of life and activity and expressed full support for the USSR's large-scale initiatives aimed at the cessation of the arms race, disarmament, and the preservation and consolidation of peace on the planet.

N.V. Talyzin and Nouhak Phoumsavan advocated the further development and intensification of cooperation between the parties and peoples of both countries to the benefit of the cause of peace and socialism.

Delegation Returns Home

LD172340 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A USSR party and government delegation headed by Comrade Talyzin today returned to Moscow from Hanoi. It had been taking part in the mourning ceremonies held in connection with the death of Pham Hung, the prominent leader of the CPV and of Vietnam. At the airport in Moscow, the delegaton was met by Comrade Demichev and other officials. Among the meeting party was Nguyen Manh, ambassador of Vietnam to the USSR.

Near East & South Asia

Ligachev, Dobrynin Meet Israeli CP Group

LD171821 Moscow TASS in English 1756 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—A delegation of the Communist Party of Israel [CPI] headed by general secretary of the CPI CC Meir Vilner was received on March 16 at the CPSU Central Committee by members of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Yegor Ligachev and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Anatoliy Dobrynin.

It was noted at the meeting that the CPSU guides itself by the new political thinking and is pressing for the implementation of the programme of creating a nuclear-free world and a comprehensive system of international security. The signing of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was a considerable step in this direction. Progress in the field of disarmament creates favourable conditions for improving the situation in the world, solving outstanding issues, including regional conflicts, on the basis of a balance of interests of all interested sides and strict respect for the sovereign right of peoples to shape their own destiny.

The guests stated that the CPI considers it a national task to renounce the prospectless policy of confrontation with the Arabs and ignoring the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the creation of its own state, and to switch to a policy of reconciliation and good-neighbourhood which alone can ensure peaceful future for Israel. The CPI is pressing for the creation of a broad front in defence of peace, against the aggressive, expansionist policy of the reactionary Zionist circles. Also serving genuine national interests is the struggle by communists against the nuclear ambitions of the Israeli leadership, against the "strategic cooperation" between Israel and the United States which is of an anti-Soviet nature.

The representatives of the CPSU expressed solidarity with the Israeli Communists, with their principled internationalist and genuinely patriotic line which they are boldly ranging against the militaristic and chauvinistic sentiments and to the anti-Soviet campaigns instigated by reactionary forces. It was confirmed in this connection that the Soviet Union has no emnity to Israel and its people and that a normalisation of relations with Israel is quite possible within the channel of the process of the Middle East settlement. It is important what choice will [words indistinct] leadership make in its further policy.

The participants in the meeting noted that there is widespread agreement in the world about the need of an urgent convocation of an international conference capable of resolving the conflict situation in the Middle East. They stressed that a genuine settlement cannot be attained without the solution of the Palestine problem, a solution achieved with the participation of the PLO as the sole lawful representative of the Palestinian people.

The participants in the meeting expressed satisfaction with the fraternal relations between the CPSU and the CPI, and declared for their further consolidation.

Cordovez Confident on Afghan-Pakistani Talks

LD181457 Moscow TASS in English 1442 GMT 18 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva March 18 TASS—The Afghan-Pakistani negotiations, which are conducted through Diego Cordovez, personal representative of U.N. secretary-general, were continued here today.

As has been learnt from official sources, Cordovez expressed confidence that the talks would be completed by the signing of agreements exactly in Geneva and not in any other place. It is pointed out that the negotiations are of a difficult and delicate nature, but the sides show interest in their success and the achievement of lasting and feasable accords.

More Afghan Refugees Return Home
LD171139 Moscow TASS in English 1031 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Kabul March 17 TASS—Another 14 refugee families, a total of 94 people, have responded to the call of the Afghan leadership and returned from Pakistan to the city of Jalalabad where the needed material assistance was immediately rendered to them.

In the Daman district an Afghan army unit routed an extremist group. In the Paghman district the security forces of the republic of Afghanistan found a big cache of arms and ammunition, including large-calibre machine-guns, ground-to-ground missiles and recoilless rifles.

Envoy to Kuwait Hails Relations
LD171848 Moscow TASS in English 1752 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Kuwait March 17 TASS—"Solid relations based on principles of mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs have been established in a relatively brief historical period between the Soviet Union and Kuwait, Soviet Ambassador to Kuwait Ernest Zverev told a news conference today on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

A broad spectrum of agreements in various areas had been concluded and carried out during that period, he said. Trust between the two countries grew and this process was especially noticeable in relations between the leaders of states.

Last year, the Soviet ambassador observed, when the situation in the Gulf region heightened to an unprecedented degree, the exchange of personal messages between General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and Kuwaiti Emir Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah and other contacts between representatives of the leadership in the two countries at high level made up the core of the Soviet-Kuwaiti political dialogue.

"The Soviet people have a sincerely friendly attitude to the Kuwaiti people," Zverev noted. "The Soviet people regard Kuwait as an inalienable part of the Arab world, as a land of centuries-old traditions and original culture."

Arab League Committee of Seven Arrives in Moscow
LD171637 Moscow TASS in English 1628 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—A delegation of the "Committee of the Seven" at the League of Arab States, headed by the committee chairman, Algerian Foreign Minister Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi, arrived in Moscow today for a working visit.

At the airport, the delegation was welcomed by Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov and other officials.

The welcoming party included heads of Arab diplomatic missions accredited in the Soviet Union.

Shevardnadze Receives Syria's al-Shar'
LD172036 Moscow TASS in English 1942 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, today received Faruq al-Shar' member of the Central Committee of the Ba'th Party and foreign minister of Syria.

Al-Shar' arrived in Moscow with a delegation from the Committee of the Seven at the League of Arab States.

In the meeting, held in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding, the sides held a thorough exchange of views on a number of topical regional problems and the situation in the Middle East.

The sides were unanimous that mass Palestinian actions in the Israeli-occupied Arab territories pointed to the need for vigorous steps on defusing the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The road to that lay through the earliest convocation of an authoritative international conference with the participation of all sides concerned, including the PLO, and permanent members of the U.N. Security Council.

It was stated that the main thing now was to activate as fully as possible the broad international consensus established around the idea of the conference.

Al-Shar' expressed support for the Soviet Union's proposal for holding consultations between Security Council member countries with a view to preparing the conference.

Both sides emphasised that of special significance in the present-day situation was the elaboration of a joint Arab stance on settlement issues and the coordination of actions of the Arabs and the Soviet Union.

In exchanging views on the so-called American peace plan for the Middle East, it was noted that the chief criterion in its assessment should be the extent to which it facilitated the goals of attaining a fair settlement with due account for the balance of interests of all sides involved in the conflict.

On the situation in Afghanistan, Shevardnadze reaffirmed that the Soviet Union was ready to withdraw all its troops from that country. For that, it was necessary to sign without delay Afghan-Pakistani agreements in Geneva.

Al-Shar' expressed support for the USSR's efforts to settle the Afghan problem. The sides noted that its earliest solution would have a favourable effect on the resolution of other regional conflicts.

Both ministers highly assessed the level of bilateral relations developing on the solid basis of the 1980 Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation and came out in favour of their further deepening and development.

UN Envoy Attends Consultations on Gulf War

PM181135 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 88 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Dangerous Situation"]

[Text] New York, 15 Mar—UN Security Council consultations took place here Monday evening in connection with a request from the USSR Government to urgently convene a Security Council session to examine the question of the drastic escalation of the Iran-Iraq conflict. As A.M. Belonogov, USSR permanent representative to the United Nations, stated to journalists after the consultation, the sole aim of the Soviet proposal to urgently convene a Security Council session is to utilize the prerogative of this most important UN organ to put an end to the so-called "war of the cities", from which it is primarily civilians who are suffering, and hundreds of women, old people, and children are dying.

In addition, the Soviet representative stressed, this "war of the cities" is creating a very dangerous situation and additional obstacles for both sides, preventing them from embarking on the path of seeking a settlement to the bitter conflict, and is increasingly stirring up hatred between the peoples of Iran and Iraq. It is precisely for this reason that the Security Council should do everything possible to stop the bloodshed and thus create a more suitable climate and conditions for fulfilling Resolution 598, which is the basis for a just and peaceful settlement of the conflict, the USSR representative noted.

USSR Cultural Center Reopens in Cairo

LD161750 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] The work of the Soviet cultural center in Cairo has been officially resumed since today. It was closed in 1977 on the instructions of Sadat, former Egyptian president. At the ceremony, Dr Butrus Ghali, minister of state for foreign affairs and chairman of the Egypt-USSR Friendship Society, evaluated the opening of the center as a manifestation of the developing friendly relations between the peoples of our two countries.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Gorbachev Appeals for 'Sharpeville Six' Clemency

LD171335 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, while in Ljubljana on an official friendly visit to Yugoslavia, made the following statement to a TASS correspondent:

"Tomorrow another evil deed in the series of racist crimes might occur. The authorities of South Africa intend to send six South African patriots convicted on obviously trumped-up charges to the gallows.

The Pretoria rulers, President Botha have yet several hours to change their minds and to heed the unanimous appeals of the world community. We join our voice to the demands to stop the executioners."

RSA Accused Over Sao Tome Coup Attempt

PM171445 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by A. Nikanorov under the rubric "Pertinent Notes": "Army for Hire"]

[Text] As IZVESTIYA has already reported, U.S. citizens took part in the attempted coup in Sao Tome and Principe. During the firefight, one of the Americans was killed and another was captured by state security officials. Mercenaries from other countries were also operating as part of the armed group that carried out the raid on the island state. Afonso dos Santos, the ringleader of the attackers, was among those captured.

As Quentiliano Loures Amado, ringleader of the antigovernment Sao Tome and Principe National Resistance Front—who prefers to command his army from Lisbon—claimed in an interview with Portugal's LUSA news agency, Afonso dos Santos broke away from the "front" and in 1986 settled at Walvis Bay, a Namibian port town annexed by the RSA. There he slapped together a group of around 100 emigres who received military training under the leadership of RSA instructors and "soldiers of fortune" from Western countries. An RSA Foreign Ministry spokesman once tried to refute

accusations that Pretoria gives aid to Sao Tomean reactionary emigres, terming them refugees. However, it is well known, the newspaper DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE stressed, that the RSA's policy with regard to progressive states is precisely to support bandit groupings terrorizing the peaceful populace and sabotaging economic projects. All this subversive work is aimed at destabilizing the situation in neighboring independent countries. The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) gangs in Angola and the "Mozambique National Resistance" funded by the Pretoria special services are the instruments of this subversive work. Now it was the turn of the Sao Tomean "front."

It did not happen suddenly. At the end of January a new government was formed in Sao Tome which set its sights on deepening democratic reforms. Ways of strengthening cooperation with Angola had already been outlined. A ranking Sao Tomean delegation visited Cuba. This turn of events clearly did not suit Pretoria. And it remembered its "refugees" from the island state. The apartheid regime decided to overthrow the legitimate Sao Tomean Government by proxy. This action by Pretoria, one must suppose, was aimed at diverting attention from the latest assault on the opposition in its own back yard.

It did not work. However, it is clear from events at the beginning of the week in Southern Africa that reaction continues to resort to the services of mercenaries—that army of paid killers ready to commit any crime.

SWAPO's Nujoma Discusses Namibian Struggle

LD181033 Moscow TASS in English 0950 GMT 18 Mar 88

["SWAPO President Gives Interview"—TASS headline]

[Text] Luanda March 18 TASS—The Sough African racist regime which stubbornly refuses to hand over power to the Namibian people, is primarily to blame for the unsettled Namibian problem, said here Sam Nujoma, president of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

The Pretoria authorities, he said in an interview with TASS correspondent Aleksandr Korzun, resort to various tricks to preserve Namibia as its raw materials appendage and to use its territory for destabilizing the situation in Angola and other "Frontline" states. Seeking to preserve colonial orders, the invaders step up reprisals against civilians. The racist army, police and punitive detachments Kufut, Etango and Eyuwa [names as received] commit outrages in villages, kill and rob innocent civilians to break down people's will for freedom and to force them to abandon support for SWAPO patriots. At the same time the racists plant in the country puppet organs of power, trying to turn Namibia into another pseudo-independent Bantustan.

South Africa implements these criminal plans with the connivance of imperialist forces, above all the United States, which renders all-round support to the apartheid state in line with the notorious policy of "constructive engagement", noted S. Nujoma. The United States and Britain repeatedly used their right to veto so as to prevent the U.N. Security Council from taking resolutions on imposing mandatory and all-embracing sanctions against Pretoria. Washington put forth the idea of linking artificially the question of Namibia's decolonization with a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and blocked, thereby, fulfillment of Security Council Resolution 435 which provides for a withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia and holding free democratic elections there under U.N. control.

SWAPO, its leader noted, is interested in a peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem. It backed Security Council Resolution 601 which was adapted last October and which calls for an immediate ceasefire between SWAPO and South Africa. However, the South African Government rejected this call. The stake of racists on terror and military force leaves patriots no other alternative but to step up the armed struggle. In the recent past the military wing of SWAPO—the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN)—won several major victories over the invaders. Its units operate throughout the country down to the border with South Africa. The PLAN's successes promote an increase in the national liberation movement involving today all segments and racial groups of Namibian population.

Sam Nujoma pointed out that SWAPO regarded the struggle for Namibia's independence as a component part of common efforts for peace. Therefore, it fully backs major Soviet initiatives aimed at freeing the world from the burden of nuclear and other weapons and at preventing a nuclear disaster. The Soviet-American INF Treaty signed thanks to the USSR's persistent efforts opens a correct road to reaching these aims, vitally important for mankind, said the SWAPO president.

Ties With Somalia 'Improved Considerably'

EA172157 Moscow International Service in Somali 1600 GMT 17 Mar 88

[From the "World Events Today" program; commentary by (Georgiy Sashin)]

[Text] In the month of March 1962, an agreement was signed to build two hospitals, a high school, and a printing press in Somalia, all as a gift from the Soviet Government to the Somali nation. It is now 26 years since that agreement was signed. How is the relationship between the USSR and Somalia now? Our commentator, (Georgiy Sashin), answering this question, says that the general public of the USSR and Somalia are disappointed that the agreement, based on friendship and brotherly cooperation which existed between our two countries, was abrogated. This happened toward the end

of 1977. At that time, the Somali leadership unilaterally abrogated the friendship and cooperation agreement, which had already produced tangible results.

Touching briefly on this matter, first we need to remember that this agreement between Somalia and the USSR enabled Somalia's economy to be put on a sound footing, especialy the state sector and the progress of the socialist economy. If Somalia had pursued that policy, it is believed that it would have achieved economic independence. But unfortunately it deviated from that path. The Somalia Government started to strengthen its relations with the Western world, with which it became allied. For that reason, the economic situation in Somalia could no longer remain firm. In the past few years, the economic crisis has worsened and can no longer hold. This has forced the Somali leadership to take various steps to correct the country's policy.

The relationship between the Soviet Union and Somalia has improved considerably of late. Relations between the two countries in the fields of education and general expertise have expanded slightly. But changes are taking place at a very slow pace because there are forces inside and outside Somalia which are obstructing these relations. The USSR wishes to see an immediate improvement in the situation in the Horn of Africa and to promote its relations with all countries in the region.

East Europe

Gorbachev Concludes Official Visit to SFRY

Signs USSR-SFRY Declaration

LD181224 Moscow TASS in English 1210 GMT 18 Mar 88

["Urgent—Soviet-Yugoslav Declaration"—TASS headline]

[Text] Belgrade March 18 TASS—The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia have come out for an immediate drafting and conclusion of a treaty on a full and general ban on nuclear weapon testing with the strictest measures of control in this field, for the prevention of outer space militarisation, and for banning and eliminating all types of weapons of mass annihilation.

This is said in a declaration adopted during the visit to Yugoslavia by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on March 14-18.

The declaration sealed the principles and goals of mutual relations and set forth the sides' views on the main problems of international relations and on ways to create a non-violent and nuclear-free world.

The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia reiterated their allegiance to the policy of peace and independence of peoples and countries, to their equality and equal security for all.

The sides highly appraised the role of the policy of non-alignment. The declaration said that this policy "is aimed against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, apartheid, and all forms of aggression, interference, violence, supremacy, hegemony and discrimination in political and economic relations, against the confinement of international cooperation to narrow frameworks of the existing groupings".

The growing role of the Non-aligned Movement in world affairs "meets the requirements of the times and the interests of the international community".

The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia came out for the establishment of a new just economic order, and paid special attention to the problems of the huge foreign debts of most developing countries, their discrimination in trade and the limitation of access for them to technological achievements.

A special section of the declaration is devoted to cooperation between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Both parties confirmed their readiness to continue developing and enriching the content of their relations.

They came out for broad equitable cooperation among communist, workers', socialist, social-democratic, revolutionary-democratic and other progressive parties and movements.

The declaration positively assessed the meeting of parties and movements, held in Moscow in connection with the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

TANJUG Carries Declaration

For the Belgrade TANJUG in English 'full text' of the declaration signed between the USSR and the SFRY following the official visit by Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and see the Yugoslavia section of the March 18 East Europe DAILY REPORT.

Tours Corn Institute

LD162112 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Yugoslavia is among 10 biggest corn producers in the world. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev visited the laboratories of the corn institute. He acquainted himself with the principles of scientific work, saw the equipment and talked to the institute's employees.

[Begin Gorbachev recording] I remember, at the beginning there were good contacts on the basis of the awnless wheat (lukyanenko). So to speak, research continued and you have now obtained your own strains. But all the

same, awnless lukyanenko was the basis of this. There followed your partizanka. Some strains have returned to our country, too. Following this, the joint work has gone well. [end recording]

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev attentively acquainted himself with the research of the Yugoslav scientists and the specialists on the development of corn hybrids and the technology of their growing. The development of contacts between the Yugoslav and Soviet breeders is an important and forward-looking matter, noted this meeting.

Comrade Gorbachev arrived in Ljubljana the same day.

Arrives in Ljubljana

LD161952 Moscow TASS in English 1902 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Ljubljana March 16 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today arrived in the Yugoslav city of Ljubljana.

At the airport the Soviet leader and his wife were welcomed by France Popit, president of the Collective Presidency of Slovenia, and Milan Kucan, chairman of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, and their wives, and by other officials.

Gorbachev is in Yugoslavia on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the collective Presidency of Yugoslavia and the Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee.

Addresses Iskra Factory

LD180032 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 17 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Our correspondents report today from Yugoslavia:

[Correspondent V. Korzin, identified by caption] This morning Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev visited the Iskra Avtomatik works in the suburbs of Ljubljana. At the entrance to the enterprise he was greeted by representatives of the republic's leadership, of the League of Communists of Slovenia, and of the works management. In accordance with the tradition here for welcoming guests of honor, a boy and a girl dressed in Slovene national costumes presented bouquets of scarlet carnations. The factory workers' children had also come to welcome the guests. [video shows Gorbachev arriving, approaching rows of waving children in uniform]

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] How are things?

[Unidentified child, in Serbo-Croatian with simultaneous Russian translation]...to study well, and we shall study well.

[Gorbachev] That is the advice grown-ups always give: Study hard and obey your mother and grandmother. That is not bad. When you grow up, you will learn that it is actually very good advice. Good-bye. [end recording]

[Korzin] Taking part in the conversation at the works management office were France Popic, president of the Presidency of Slovenia; and Milan Kucan, president of the Council of Ministers of Slovenia. Dushan Sinigoj, president of the republic's Executive Council, spoke to the guests about achievements in Slovenia, which is now considered to be the most economically developed republic in the country. The main secret behind its success is the fact that labor productivity here is considerably higher than the Yugoslav average. This, naturally, has an effect on the population's standard of living. While just over 8 percent of the country's population live in Slovenia, the republic produces almost 17 percent of the aggregate social product; and the Iskra association itself makes a considerable contribution to this. The eminent visitor from Moscow was told about the works' current situation, its prospects, and development plans.

The Iskra association is Yugoslavia's biggest producer of electronic and electromechanical equipment. Suffice it to say that its gross income comes to 535 billion dinars. In the extremely difficult economic situation in which the country as a whole finds itself today, Iskra continues to be a profit-making enterprise and is increasing its capacity. The association comprises 90 factories employing almost 35,000 people. Iskra's shops manufacture various kinds of telephone and telegraph equipment, telecommunications equipment, control and measurement instruments, computer technology, and much more.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] Hello, comrades! Iskra. [video shows Gorbachev and hosts walking through the works, man pinning badge on Gorbachev's lapel]

[Unidentified interpreter] This is a carnation, yes, and we made these badges in honor of your visit. They were also made on a machine produced by Iskra. [video shows Gorbachev, Raisa Gorbacheva, and Medvedev talking with their hosts on the shop floor]

[Unidentified interpreter] We also use our electronic equipment for controlling power generating systems. That is our main business.

[Gorbachev] Is that for thermal stations, or [words indistinct]?

[Unidentified Yugoslav, in Serbo-Croatian with simultaneous Russian translation] Also for thermal stations, also for thermal stations. Automatic equipment, automatic equipment.

[Gorbachev] And for atomic ones as well?

[Interpreter] Atomic ones—no, unfortunately. We cooperate very, very closely with Soviet organizations. Here they manufacture special devices for protecting power engineering which switch the system off in the event of an accident—accident systems that produce the necessary impulse sin a fraction of a second. This is where the main and final assembly work and testing is done. We also produce these ourselves. Here we are showing our communications systems, including those exported to the Soviet Union. [video shows the group moving from the electronics assembly area into another section of the works] [end recording]

[Korzin] For a long time Yugoslavia banked mainly on acquiring licenses, usually from the West. On the one hand, that approach put a brake on the development of Yugoslavia's own science and industry and, on the other, led to a chronic increase in foreign debt. Steps are now being taken to change the existing situation. They are well aware here that equitable scientific and technical cooperation with their Soviet partner opens up broad and mutually beneficial prospects.

[video shows Gorbachev approaching a man and shaking his hand; the group continue their wok around the factory]

Comments on Factory

LD172343 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] The official friendly visit by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, to Yugoslavia is continuing. Today started with the visit by Comrade Gorbachev in Ljubljana of one of the electronic industry plants, Iskra, which is the largest one in the country. Vyacheslav Terekhov, our special correspondent, reports:

[Terekhov] All way through the motorcade, Mikhail Sergeyevich was greeted by the city's inhabitants. When entering the plant, boys and girls dressed in pretty national costumes brought a bouquet of flowers to Mikhail Sergeyevich. A discussion then took place with the plant's management. Dusan Sinigoj, head of the republican government, told the Soviet guest about development in Slovenia. The leaders of the association said Iskra has already been actively cooperating with the Soviet organizations for 20 years. For example, a number of numerical program control systems —the (NU) Ljumo), which means Ljubljana-Moscow—have been created through joint efforts by the specialists from the two countries. This equipment has been working successfully not just in our countries, but also in other countries, particularly in Japan.

Mikhail Gorbachev and his entourage then familiarized themselves with the technological process and with the standard of production automation. It is noteworthy that a whole page in today's edition of the Slovene paper DELO was bought by the association to greet the Soviet leader with big letters in Russian and Slovene. We are very pleased, says the greeting, you have decided to visit Iskra during your visit to Yugoslavia. We will show you our achievements with great pleasure. We wish you and all members of the delegation a pleasant stay here. We also wish you great success in the process of restructuring in the Soviet Union.

These wishes for the success of restructuring and for strengthening mutual relations between the two countries are being heard everywhere during Mikhail Sergeyevich's visit to Yugoslavia. On one of the stops when after the visit to the plant Mikhail Sergeyevich did some sight-seeing in the city, a brief discussion took place between him and the inhabitants greeting him. The CPSU Central Committee General secretary said good results have been achieved in the talks. We have reached understanding on many issues. But the main thing is that we will strive not just to preserve what has already been accumulated through the centuries, but to add and develop our relations in the future, too.

A meeting then took place between the Slovene leaders and Comrade Gorbachev and his entourage, after which he departed by air for the Adriatic coast and Dubrovnik.

Now here is a recording made outside, in the city, after Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev visited the Iskra works association in Ljubljana.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] What is pleasing is that economic cooperation is now gathering dynamic strength. Things are now difficult in our country. Problems have now arisen. But it is good that these problems give impetus to searches, and I see that the first answers are already being found, too. I think we will definitely maintain what has been achieved, and we will open up new opportunities for cooperation.

I think that what is involved is, above all, co-production and more setting up of production enterprises. For if one were to rely solely on trade, many possibilities have already been exhausted. As to joint efforts, however, the field of activity is very wide here. I can tell you that we, too, can construct interesting projects here in Yugoslavia, and in my view here in Slovenia we can put up hydropower stations, a group of hydropower stations can (?be built). The Yugoslav people, too, are already building interesting installations in the Soviet Union and can build more in the future. An exchange of reciprocal activities of this kind will be enriching our cooperation. Well, perhaps as far as economy is concerned, I thought it was necessary for me to talk about it specially. I think that cooperation in the spheres of science, culture, people's contacts will be developing particularly well.

[Unidentified person] Yes, culture, we can.

[Gorbachev] In Yugoslavia, there is great interest in the Soviet Union, and in the Soviet Union there's great interest in Yugoslavia. This is a tradition; and there are

already new traditions (?emerging). As far as the sphere of cooperation is concerned, it is not just bilateral, but also includes cooperation on major international problems. [end recording]

Attends Brdo Luncheon

AU171614 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, concluded his visit to Slovenia about half an hour ago and departed for Dubrovnik by special plane. This morning, he first inspected the Iskra Avtomatika Work Organization in Ljubljana and conducted talks with the representatives of the collective and the Slovene political leaders on the general features of the economic and social development of Slovenia. He showed particular interest in the production program of the Iskra Composite Organization of Associated Labor, a giant of the Slovene and Yugoslav electronics industry.

Dusan Sinigoj, president of the Republican Executive Council, informed the guest from the USSR in detail about the economy of our republic and its development plans.

After the visit to the Iskra Avtomatika Work Organization, Ljubljana people gave a cordial reception in Revolution Square. In front of the Ljubljana Bank Associated Bank building, Metod Rotar, president of the bank's managing board, welcomed Mikhail Gorbachev. The Soviet delegation returned to Brdo near Kranj at noon. Mikhail Gorbachev there had talks with France Popit, Milan Kucan, and other representatives of our republic about Slovenia's cooperation with the USSR. France Popit and Milan Kucan then gave luncheon for the distinguished guest.

Miha Lampreht now reports from Brdo near Kranj:

Good afternoon. Right at the beginning I must make a small correction to a TANJUG report. I want to say that about 15 minutes ago, the concluding talks with the Slovene leadership ended here at Brdo near Kranj, where Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev had his residence during his visit to Slovenia. During the formal luncheon, the two sides exchanged toasts which, we may say, dotted the i's of the working talks of the distinguished guest with the Slovene party and republican leadership.

France Popit, president of the Slovene Presidency, raised a glass to the health of the Soviet guests and, among other things, expressed his conviction that their rather short visit to our republic was successful. During his visit the distinguished guest was acquainted with Slovene efforts to build a modern, materially and spiritually rich, democratic society in the sense of a comprehensive increase in the quality of life of its citizens.

Words like restructuring and glasnost have found their place in our country, too, France Popit said. He expressed his conviction that the successes of the Soviet leadership will contribute to the further successful development and prestige of socialism, and to peace in the world.

The president of the Presidency of Slovenia stressed the traditionally firm cooperation between the states in their strivings for a modern socialist society in accordance with the specific traits of every state. In France Popit's opinion, the Slovene and Yugoslav orientation of the traditional production factors toward knowledge and high technology, as well as the reforms in the USSR, open new opportunities for mutual economic, technological, scientific, and other cooperation.

With these words France Popit toasted Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife Raisa Gorbachev 15 minutes ago.

CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev spoke next. Among other things he expressed his thanks for the hospitality shown in Slovenia. He said that although some Yugoslav comrades were worried because the visit had not occurred earlier, it is nevertheless the right time now, for spring is coming.

Mikhail Gorbachev said among other things that it is appreciated in the USSR that Soviet people are welcome guests in our country, which is to say in Slovenia and Yugoslavia. Unfortunately, Mikhail Gorbachev said, the visit was short, but it was nevertheless possible to see many things. He mentioned Iskra and its technological progress.

Mikhail Gorbachev said, among other things, that Slovenia is one of the most developed Yugoslav republics, and this is part of the Yugoslav development. He said that it was understood during the visit, or rather, that they saw that prosperity and unity of Yugoslavia are in the interest of all the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

The relations between the USSR and Yugoslavia are very important, Mikhail Gorbachev stated. The republics are streams and rivers that link the peoples and the republics in the two states. [sentence as heard]. He said in conclusion that he was in favor of broad incentives in removing obstacles to cooperation between the states and the republics, and he wished much success in their work to all those present, the leadership of the SR of Slovenia and the party leadership, and of course to all the people of our republic.

This is the end of my report from Brdo near Kranj. CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev with his wife Raisa and his associates, accompanied by Slovene hosts, is on his way to Brni Airport, from where he is to fly to Dubrovnik shortly.

So much from our special reporter at Brdo near Kranj.

Ljubljana Walkabout

LD172309 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; unidentified correspondent's video report on a 17 March walkabout in Ljubljana by Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, with Yugoslav citizens' comments translated by interpreters]

[Text] [Gorbachev] [Video shows Gorbachev walking by people in a street] Thank you for providing good weather! I take it as a sign that you have a good system of government and good people. [laughter] How are you? How's life? What would you like to say to me?

[Woman] We're very glad you came. We sent greetings to the Soviet peoples.

[Gorbachev] Thank you.

[Woman] I've been to the Soviet Union, I've been to Leningrad. I liked it very much.

[Gorbachev] How did you feel during your trip?

[Woman] It was very nice.

[Gorbachev] Well, thank you, friends, for meeting me. I wish you fine achievements in your country. We've had very good talks with the Yugoslav leadership. Today we're talking with the leadership of your republic. You know, evidently we can say that we have opportunities to expand contacts, and if do we expand them it will be of mutual benefit, both to you and to us. And then, which is the main thing? We know the feelings our people have for the Yugoslav peoples; you must know that. That always remains in our hearts and minds. Therefore I consider that those who stand at the head of the Soviet Union and of Yugoslavia must bear in mind the feelings of our peoples, and help them to develop (?contacts). We've reached agreement on many things, not only to preserve what we've been accumulating for centuries, especially in recent decades, but also to add to it—add to it. All the best! [applause]

[Correspondent] The hospitable hosts invited Mikhail Sergeyevich and his wife to climb up to the viewing platform on the roof of one of the city's highest buildings. From here, you can see Ljubljana spread out as if in the palm of your hand. Here Mikhail Sergeyevich gave a brief interview to Yugoslav journalists.

[Gorbachev] It is gratifying that economic cooperation is now gathering dynamic strength. I think this is happening above all in coproduction and the setting up of joint enterprises. More coproduction and more setting up of enterprises. For if one were to rely solely on trade, its possibilities have already been exhausted. As far as joint efforts are concerned, however, this is a wide field of activity. I can tell you that we can build interesting projects here in Yugoslavia, and in my view, here in Slovenia, hydroelectric power stations could be built, a group of hydroelectric stations. Yugoslavs are already building interesting installations in the Soviet Union, and can build more in the future. As you know, an exchange of reciprocal activities of this kind will enrich our cooperation. I think cooperation will develop very well in the sphere of science, culture, and human contacts. In Yugoslavia there's great interest in the Soviet Union, and in the Soviet Union there is great interest in Yugoslavia. That is a tradition, and there are also new traditions. As far as the sphere of cooperation is concerned, it's not just bilateral, but also includes cooperation on major international problems.

You know, we've been having a very substantial dialogue, both in conversation with Comrade Mojsev, and with the group of comrades. I'd like to single out in particular the conversations in the LCY Central Committee [words indistinct] comrades from the party leadership. The atmosphere was good. There was a broad coincidence of views; and we were acting, moreover, on the well-known principles of (?truth), equality, independence, and autonomy. Those principles have already stood the test of decades, and I think that in the declaration we adopted, and which will be published, we have reinforced them and added to them, taking into account new realities and new tasks. I know and feel there is a spiritual movement, a striving from the heart and soul, from people's convications and traditions...among the people...I feel it in the factories, in the streets, everywhere, among everyone, all those we've had a chance to talk with. We value this highly. If you add to this the fact that the feelings of affection that Soviet people feel toward the peoples of Yugoslavia...then that, you know, is a good prerequisite, the main precondition, for our relations to develop.

[Correspondent] An inscription was made in the distinguished visitors' book to commemorate the visit to Ljubljana. [video shows Gorbachev writing in a book] [applause]

[Gorbachev] A very good place for a city. A beautiful city. Thank you.

[Correspondent] There's been such a cordial atmosphere, not only in the central square of the city, but also in the very many streets that Mikhail Sergeyevich has passed through. Thousands of people have turned out to welcome him.

Arrives in Dubrovnik

LD171912 Moscow TASS in English 1902 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Dubrovnik March 17 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, arrived in the city of Dubrovnik, Croatia, in the afternoon today.

During a tour of the city he saw places of historical and architectural interest.

In the evenying, the general secretary met with the socialist republic's leadership. The meeting was attended by Ante Markovic, president of the Presidium of Croatia, Stanko Stojcevic, chairman of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, and from the Soviet side by Vadim Medvedev, CPSU Central Committee secretary, and other officials.

In the conversation, held in a friendly atmosphere, the sides discussed issues of Soviet-Yugoslav relations, including the development of friendly ties between republics, territories and cities of the USSR and Yugoslavia, cooperation between the Ukraine and Croatia.

Slovenia, Croatia Tour Reviewed

PM181231 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS reports under general heading: "USSR-SFRY: Making Headway on All Salients. M.S. Gorbachev's Stay in Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 17 Mar—The scale of Yugoslavia' economic and scientific and technical progress during the years of the people's power is clearly obvious in the example of the "Iskra" Association. The business program for the 4th day of M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the SFRY began with a familiarization tour of its production unit and a meeting with workers and specialists. The association's 40 years of development have resulted in a range of output from electric lights to powerful computers and laser and optical electrical equipment. The USSR is the largest customer for "Iskra's" output. Supplies of commodities are supplemented by scientific and technical cooperation with Soviet partners.

A businesslike open conversation took place at the association between the CPSU Central Committee general secretary and the representatives of self-management and administration organs and sociopolitical organizations.

General Director F. Sifkovic cordially welcomed the general secretary on behalf of the association's 36,000 workers. Your visit, Comrade Gorbachev, will give powerful impetus to further multifaceted cooperation between "Iskra" and Soviet enterprises. Our workers wish you great success in your responsible activity designed to achieve positive changes in the course of restructuring in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet leader was familiarized with the manufacturing process and with the most modern output, including models of the new generation of computers, and was told about the attention that is being devoted to modernizing production and enhancing the competitiveness of the goods being manufactured.

During his conversations with workers and specialists, M.S. Gorbachev inquired into questions of the efficiency of the resolution of economic and social problems, the functioning of the socialist self-management mechanism, and the development of ties with Soviet partners.

Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation has made incontrovertible achievements but there are also great reserves. It is gratifying that the two countries' peoples are united by the common desire to make headway on all salients.

We may have very large proposals for the "Iskra" Association's collective, he said, provided that you can cope with them. The reason I am talking about this in this way is that national machine-building is now being modernized in our country and we are interested in boosting microelectronics even though it is growing at a rate of 20-25 percent per year. We have decided to construct several electronics centers in various cities in the country. In this context we need to literally effect a breakthrough. Yet we have made scientific developments in our country. We have developed supercomputers—the problem is being resolved. These are computers capable of performing 1 billion, 10 billion, or 100 billion operations per second. Personal computers, minicomputers, and superminicomputers have been developed. Control systems are in operation at manufacturing and automatic centers. In short, the developments are there and production must be set up. In brief, we are inviting you to cooperate.

We will make every effort to expand cooperation with the Soviet Union, F. Sifkovic said. We already have fruitful contacts with Soviet enterprises and have very frequent meetings with colleagues from the USSR. But you are absolutely right: Business contacts must be developed, for they are mutually advantageous and meet the interests of both sides.

M.S. Gorbachev: What you said about a certain disruption in established channels of communication owing to our economic reform—that is good. For you will be able to go direct to scientific organizations and enterprises, sidestepping bureaucratic barriers.

The CPSU Central Committee general secretary made an entry in the association's honored visitors' book: "I am cordially grateful for your kindness and warm feelings toward our country and the Soviet people. These feelings are reciprocated.

"Your enterprise, with its modern technological level, has made a favorable impression on us. Its output also has a good reputation in the Soviet Union. We advocate scope being opened up for businesslike mutually advantageous ties between Soviet and Yugoslav enterprises.

"I wish the association's collective and leadership many more production successes and wish that its output's brand name be held in high esteem.

"Dear comrades, I wish you new achievements!"

En route from "Iskra" to the city an unscheduled stop was made at a square in the center. Thousands of towsnpeople were gathered here. They welcomed the general secretary and asked him to send Soviet people their best wishes and said that restructuring is beneficial not only for the Soviet Union but also for the strengthening of peace throughout the world.

People asked questions and inquired about the results of the talks with Yugoslav leaders.

M.S. Gorbachev: The talks were very good. We have a chance to expand even further the ties, which will, naturally, accord with mutual interests. Then—the main thing: We know our peoples' attitude to the Yugoslav peoples and good relations have always remained in Soviet hearts. We know your attitude toward us. Therefore I believe that the leaders of both the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia must take into consideration the sentiments of their peoples and help to develop and strengthen comprehensive ties. During the talks we came to an agreement on many things. We must not only preserve that which has been accumulated over the centuries—especially in recent decades—but also add to it.

I am very glad to visit Ljubljana and Slovenia. I know that people who live in this region know how to work well. I wish you success and achievements.

M.S. Gorbachev wrote in the honored visitors' book: "Taking advantage of this favorable opportunity, I want to highly assess the achievements of the working people of socialist Slovenia in the economic and social spheres and in the cultural sphere during the years of socialist construction.

"We are deeply affected by our cordial meetings and conversations with people. We see them as the clear manifestation of the friendship between the USSR and the SFRY.

I wish you good achievements on the territory of Slovenia and may cooperation develop between our countries."

On the same day M.S. Gorbachev had a meeting with the leadership of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. F. Popit, president of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia Presidency, M. Kucan, president of the League of Communists of Slovenia Central Committee, and other leaders of the republic took part.

The meeting was also attended by V.A. Medvedev, CPSU Central Committee secretary, and other Soviet officials.

During the conversation, which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, the sides touched on some questions concerning Soviet-Yugoslav relations, including the development of economic and cultural cooperation with Slovenia and its direct interrepublic ties with Belorussia.

The Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and the Presidium of the League of Communists of Slovenia Central Committee gave a dinner in honor of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary. F. Popit and M.S. Gorbachev exchanged brief speeches.

Your visit to Yugoslavia and the successful talks you have held, Comrade Gorbachev, with the top leaders of our country and the LCY, and also the impressions you have formed in the socialist republics, F. Popit said, will undoubtedly have an impact on the process of deepening successful, all-around cooperation between the SFRY and the USSR.

In Yugoslavia as a whole and in Slovenia in particular, we are following with special attention and sympathy the ways in which Soviet people are solving the new tasks set by the CPSU.

Nonaligned Yugoslavia takes an equal interest in your efforts aimed at disarmament and universal peace. The words "restructuring" and "glasnost" are now everyday words for us. We sincerely hope you will be successful in your aim to bring about a social transformation in the Soviet Union. Your successes will also help to further increase the prestige of socialism and the cause of peace throughout the world.

The friendship between our countries' peoples goes back a long way. Many thousands of Yugoslavs took part in the Great October Socialist Revolution. Our peoples fought side by side against fascism. Our common struggle to develop the socialist community to suit the particular features of each country and our struggle for universal peace and the progress of all mankind are also an important impetus to our cooperation.

Our wish for you is that the new, bright prospects for socialist society for which the CPSU is struggling are realized.

In an answering speech M.S. Gorbachev thanked the leaders of Slovenia for their hospitality and for the kind thoughts expressed toward our party and the Soviet people.

We have been touched by the reception we have been given in Ljubljana, he stressed. Some of our Yugoslav comrades were distressed that the visit had not taken place at a better time of year. But, despite the fact that spring is only just beginning in your country, the atmosphere of our visit has really been like summer because of the warmth of mutual feeling and people's amicability and cordiality.

To be serious, we can see by the attitude toward us that Soviet people are welcome guests throughout Yugoslavia, in all the republics. Believe me when I say that we highly value this, it is dear to us.

Unfortunately, our stay in Slovenia has not been very long, but even the things we have had time to see have shown us the great achievements made in developing the economy on the basis of progressive equipment and technology and the great expertise of workers, specialists, and production leaders. Our visit to "Iskra" left us with just such an impression. This is a top enterprise. The flame of new life is kindled from enterprises like "Iskra."

Slovenia is one of the most developed Yugoslav republics and, of course, its successes are inseparable from the achievements of the country as a whole. In the last few days we have become even more clearly aware how many sides there are to the history and national traditions of your republics and how varied are the features of their economic and social development. We have come to understand even better that the guarantee of Yugoslavia's prosperity today is its unity and the desire of all its peoples to travel further along a common path and together build a socialist motherland.

We wish you the most fruitful results in this.

Relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, including economic relations, are a large, integrated complex. In this respect it is very useful, figuratively speaking, to supplement the main channel with brooks and streams in the form of ties between our individual republics, krays, and cities. I am aware that Slovenia has built good ties with Belorussia. They enrich our cooperation.

This does not mean that Slovenia's economic organizations have to confine themselves solely to Belorussia and not deal with other potential Soviet partners. Ljubljana cooperates with Tbilisi, for example. We are in favor of broad initiative in these matters. Eliminating obstacles and artificial restrictions in our economic mechanism opens up broad opportunities for this. The task is to make active use of these opportunities.

In conclusion M.S. Gorbachev said: We wish you, dear comrades, success in all your tasks and prosperity and happiness to all the people of this republic.

The dinner passed in a friendly atmosphere.

Dubrovnik, 17 Mar—In the afternoon M.S. Gorbachev arrived in Dubrovnik (the Socialist Republic of Croatia).

The Soviet leader and his wife were met at the airport by A. Markovic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, and his wife, S. Stojcevic, president of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Croatia Central Committee, and other of the republic's leaders.

M.S. Gorbachev is being accompanied in his tour of the country by I.S. Silayev, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman; V.F. Maltsev, Soviet ambassador to the SFRY; G.KH. Shakhnazarov, assistant to the CPSU Central Committee general secretary; and, on the Yugoslav side, by M. Orlandic, LCY Central Committee Presidium member; J. Zemljaric, vice president of the SFRY Federal Executive Council; M. Veres, SFRY ambssador to the Soviet Union; and other Soviet and Yugoslav officials.

15 Mar Activities Recounted

PM161502 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 88 Second Edition pp 1-2

[TASS report: "M.S. Gorbachev's Meetings on Yugoslav Soil"]

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Mar—The working people of the USSR and the SFRY are linked by good relations of long standing. It is therefore no accident that the first foreign exhibition of exhibits from the Josip Broz Tito Memorial Complex was shown first in Moscow, and also, very recently, in Minsk.

Today M.S. Gorbachev inspected the exhibits at the memorial complex in Belgrade. He laid a wreath at the marble grave of J. Broz Tito.

The CPSU Central Committee general secretary wrote in the honored visitors' book: "People in the Soviet Union honor profoundly the memory of Josip Broz Tito—Yugoslavia's outstanding son, prominent figure in the international Communist and workers' movement, and participant in the events of Great October.

"He embodied the remarkable qualities of military leader of the people's liberation struggle of the Yugoslav peoples against fascism, revolutionary orator, and theorist and organizer of the building of a new life. His contribution to the struggle for peace is great. He won deep respect as one of the founders of the Nonaligned Movement.

"Josip Broz Tito was an active champion of Soviet-Yugoslav friendship. His name will be preserved forever in our people's memory."

Addressing the employees of the memorial complex and the Yugoslav officials accompanying him on his tour of the city, the general secretary said: I am very glad to have been here during my visit, where Comrade Tito began his work after the revolution. By visiting the memorial I would like to express the respect our party and the Soviet people have for Josip Broz Tito and the Communists of Yugoslavia. Because everything that was achieved by the peoples of Yugoslavia under the LCY's leadership and by Comrade Tito and his comrades in arms marks a great turnabout in the country's many centuries of history. I understand well why the Yugoslav peoples honor Comrade Tito's memory with such respect. He was a great

friend of the Soviet Union from Great October onward. Our people retain good memories of him. I wish to stress that my visit to the memorial was prompted not simply by curiosity, but first and foremost by my party duty.

The Soviet leader then visited the city's Friendship Park. In memory of his visit he planted a young cedar. M.S. Gorbachev was welcomed by leaders of the district assembly, the district committee of the League of Communists of New Belgrade, the district conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People, and the conference of the League of Socialist Youth.

The general secretary met pioneers belonging to a nature conservation organization. One of them introduced herself: Milena Djordjevic, second-grade student. She said: We are in Friendship Park, where statesmen from many countries have planted trees of friendship and cooperation. The first tree was planted here to mark the conference of countries belonging to the Nonaligned Movement in Belgrade. Comrade General Secretary, we will look after your tree carefully.

"Kids, you know the expression: If a man has planted a single tree, his life has not been in vain. Remember that, children. You are doing great work in caring for the park laid out to mark the work of the nonaligned conference. All the best to you, kids!"

The general secretary wrote in the Belgrade Assembly's "Golden Book": "May the tree planted today grow strong and hardy, like the Soviet-Yugoslav friendship which has withstood every test."

At the LCY Central Committee talks continued between the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Yugoslav leaders.

M.S. Gorbachev and B. Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, held a thorough, heartfelt [zainteresovannyy] exchange of opinions on topical questions of CPSU and LCY activity, on the state of relations between the two parties and countries and prospects for their development, and on the key problems of the present day and of the international Communist and workers' movement.

On the same day the ceremonial adoption of a Soviet-Yugoslav declaration took place in the SFRY Federation House in the presence of M.S. Gorbachev; V.A. Medvedev, CPSU Central Committee secretary; L. Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency; and B. Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

A long-term program for economic cooperation between the USSR and the SFRY for the period through the year 2000 was signed by I.S. Silayev, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, and J. Zemljaric, vice president of the SFRY Federal Executive Council.

An agreement on an SFRY information and culture center in Moscow and an agreement on the mutual recognition of education certificates and academic degrees were also signed.

At plants in Yaroslavl and Zaporozhye, in Naberezhnyye Chelny, and in many other cities of our country they use machine tools, forge and press equipment, and automated lines bearing the trademark "ILR"—the Yugoslav machine building association that bears the name of Ivo Lola Ribar, leader of the League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia, who died in 1943.

In the afternoon M.S. Gorbachev familiarized himself with the association's work. The association consists of seven large, autonomous production units. Soviet enterprises and organizations are among its most important foreign trade partners.

The CPSU Central Committee general secretary inspected the shop for the production of programmable machine tools, processing centers, and industrial robots. The enterprise leaders told the Soviet guest about the system of organizing the planning of production and sales of output and briefed him on the working conditions of workers and engineers and the procedure for their participation in decisionmaking on the main production and social issues.

A meeting then took place with representatives of the self-management organs, administration, and sociopolitical organizations of the association.

Greeting the Soviet leader, General Director M. Milojevic said: Our collective is proud that many of its machine tools and equipment work at Soviet plants. This cooperation is developing. But we do not intend to rest on our laurels. We assess highly the course of restructuring in the Soviet Union—it has the most direct influence on the progress of our relations.

M.S. Gorbachev spoke at the meeting. He said: Dear Yugoslav friends, allow me first of all to wholeheartedly thank you for the warmth and cordiality shown by the working people at your enterprise.

We realize why this is: The friendship of our parties and peoples, of the working class in the two countries—that is what underlies any meeting on Yugoslav soil. That is why our contacts are marked by warmth, sincerity, and amicability. I wish to assure you that Soviet people—both Communists and nonparty people, adults and young people—adhere to that friendship and value it. They have done everything to safeguard it, and they will do everything to strengthen it. You may be sure of that.

I have pleasure in cordially greeting you on behalf of our delegation first and foremost because we know that "Ivo Lola Ribar" is the pioneer of the industry of the people's Yugoslavia. The association convincingly demonstrates

the achievements of the people's Yugoslavia, the achievements of socialism, and I congratulate you on that. You know how to work. We wish you great new successes.

The association also demonstrates how diverse and close the links between our countries and our peoples have become. Your output is used at enterprises in Moscow, Minsk, and many other cities. What scope our cooperation has assumed! I think it is useful to you and to us, because it gives us the opportunity together to tackle the tasks of progress, hand in hand, shoulder to shoulder.

Let us do everything that today's situation requires of us. We are confident that socialism possesses enormous potential. First and foremost because it is a working people's system that offers scope for activeness by people in the production, political, and other spheres of life. It is with the help of this activeness and by stimulating it that we must resolve today's complex tasks. They are within our powers, I am confident of that.

The visit confirms the high level of our cooperation. Yesterday we had very meaningful and prolonged discussions and an exchange of opinions and information in the SFRY Presidency with a delegation headed by Comrade Mojsov, and today talks continued at the LCY Central Committee with the LCY leadership headed by Comrade Krunic. We are very satisfied with these talks. What has been done serves our peoples and countries, socialism, and, moreover, the establishment of healthy relations in the world. But while noting all this, nonetheless we devoted our talks first and mainly to what must be done to ensure that our cooperation widens, strengthens, becomes more profound, and takes in political dialogue, economic cooperation, and cooperation in the sphere of science and culture at federal level, at regional level, at enterprise, level, and at the level of personal contacts.

I believe both sides showed great understanding of the importance of this cooperation. I think we can congratulate ourselves, because our relations have entered a phase of intensive dialogue, and we should be pleased.

We discussed questions of widening party ties, and it emerged that much could be done here. Great significance is now attached to the elaboration of a policy to meet the demands of the time. Therefore the exchange of experience and discussions on topical questions of socialist building, helping to uncover socialism's potential, are of tremendous significance for Communists in both Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. That means that party cooperation will be fruitful and businesslike. Such ties serve the development of our peoples' friendship and accord with the interests of world socialism. In view of the fact that the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia play a substantial role in the world and already exert a major influence on world processes, we devoted much time to discussing the situation in the world. We discussed how we should best act to help increase the disarmament process and strengthen the peoples' struggle for the elimination of nuclear weapons and the reduction of other types of arms—both chemical and conventional. We discussed topical matters connected with the restructuring of the development of relations in the world, with a view to improving the atmosphere. Our conversation was very serious. It touched on burning problems relating to our bilateral ties, to the problems of the development of contemporary socialism, and to topical international issues.

We are satisfied with how the talks went. They were marked by the broad coincidence of our views and by openness. The atmosphere was cordial, friendly, and direct. Please accept this as the first report on what we and the Yugoslav leadership have done in this period of less than 2 days. I think that by acting in this way both the Soviet delegation and the Yugoslav leadership have done the most important thing—they have expressed the will of the people of Yugoslavia and the people of the Soviet Union, who advocate strengthening friendship and developing our ties in every way.

Here, in the production collective, I want to say a few words about economic cooperation. Yes, we are successfully developing cooperation, and all the same it is mainly cooperation in trade. Today you will not get far, as they say in our country, on trade alone. What is needed is production sharing, the sensible distribution of labor, scientific and technical cooperation, complementarity. I think what we are talking about during these days will give our cooperation precisely such a nature. It is not easy to make the economic machinery, technological approaches, competence, and ways of thinking compatible with each other. But only by this means can we gather speed and come up with the leading countries.

The Soviet Union is now doing a very great deal to restructure its economy. I wish to thank you, dear Comrade Milojevic, for your support for our restructuring. This large-scale, revolutionary work was launched in our huge country, which we love, to which we are devoted and to which we dedicate our lives and our intellectual and physical resources. Restructuring is the policy we have chosen ourselves. We need it. But we realize that our restructuring will also have tremendous significance for the whole world. Therefore we are aware of our responsibility not only in connection with the tremendous tasks we are resolving to impart great dynamism to socialism and our Soviet society and bring it up to a new level, a new quality. We are aware of our responsibility both to our friends in the socialist countries and to working people throughout the world.

There is no way back for us. We cannot even stop. We have only one option. We will move forward confidently, without, of course, adventurous leaps, great leaps forward, or skipping over stages, but firmly and consistently following the chosen path. Our path may be described in a few words: It is the path of democratization of society

so as to involve all the forces of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, youth, veterans—all the forces of our society in restructuring, in the renewal of our socialist society.

We are following the path of radical economic reform, but here too the main thing is democratization, so as to increase the role of enterprises and labor collectives. We want to do this in such a way that while developing the autonomy and responsibility of labor collectives, republics, and oblasts, at the same time we preserve the important regulating role of the center, because that is the advantage of socialism. We must find the right relationship between democratism, the wide development of the local labor collectives' initiative, and the center, which formulates the right policy and draws up technical policy and economic policy. This is also very important, because it enables us to avoid mistakes which are very costly if they occur, especially in a state like the Soviet Union.

Finally, the Soviet Union is a country where many people live, more than 100 nationalities—republics, autonomous oblasts, national okrugs. All this is the real life of our country. All we have achieved, the fact that we have won this position in the world, is the result of common interest and equality among the peoples. This was the approach that made it possible to raise up all the republics and turn them into major national economic complexes. But today these tasks also have a new ring. All the republics have undergone enormous development—they are educated peoples. In each republic a national intelligentsia has formed and each people's dignity has strengthened. Today we cannot tackle a single issue without taking into account the situation in the republics, without taking into account the interests of each nation, each people living in the vast expanses of our country. Where we forget about this, we are reminded of it.

We devote tremendous attention to these issues in the course of the restructuring. That, basically, is all I wanted to say to you. Let me add: We advocate all-around cooperation among socialist countries, collaboration with them in every area, and the preservation and strengthening of peace throughout the world. We do not simply declare our desire and striving for peace, we express them in real policy, in real initiatives in every area of the struggle for the improvement of the international situation.

Departs SFRY

LD181206 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 18 Mar 88

[Text] A few minutes ago, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, departed Yugoslavia. He was in that country on an official friendly visit.

West Europe

FRG Parties' Response to NATO Summit Noted

PM171653 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Mar 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Yu. Yakhontov article: "Half-Heartedness at Summit"]

[Text] Bonn, 12 Mar—"Brussels Compromises," "Half-Heartedness at the Summit," "Without a Common Denominator"—editorials and commentaries on the question of the meetings of NATO heads of state and government are being published in West German newspapers under headings like these.

True, something quite important, Bonn believes, has been done all the same. Chancellor H. Kohl, answering television commentators' questions, assessed the meeting positively. So, for example, President Reagan received essential support from those who advocate a speedy ratification by the U.S. Senate of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

In the opinion of observers, the meeting's document, containing a proposal on practical steps to achieve stability in the sphere of conventional arms from the Atlantic to the Urals, deserves attention. "And even certain exaggerations concerning the East's advantage and the shameful failure to mention Western superiority if only in combat aircraft does not lessen the value of the statement," GENERAL-ANZEIGER points out.

Bonn notes with satisfaction that nothing should now stand in the way of agreeing on a mandate for a conference in Vienna of the countries participating in the all-European process. The talks on conventional arms reduction and further confidence-building measures in the military sphere could begin this year, they believe here.

In addition, M. Thatcher's well-known position on the question of modernizing tactical nuclear weapons (this affects primarily Lance missiles) is interpreted on the Rhine as an expression of disapproval of Bonn's position in the disarmament sphere. But support from the French president and the majority of leaders in other countries has enabled the FRG leaders, they believe here, to defend the view that modernization is inopportune.

But the opposition SPD [Social Democratic Party] here, and also the DKP [German Communist Party] do not share the same cautious optimism with respect to the Brussels meeting which distinguishes the ruling parties' assessment.

E. Bahr, member of the SPD Presidium, believes that the government's hope that the talks on the reduction of conventional arms in Europe can begin this year has now been abandoned. NATO has not done its "homework"—creating preconditions for a mandate on talks with the

East in the sphere of conventional arms. H. Kohl, the SPD official stated, obtained a deferment of the modernization question but not a solution to the question as a whole.

"It has once again become clear," the DKP newspaper UNSERE ZEIT writes, "that NATO is not able to oppose its own concept of the disarmament policy to the peaceful proposals and initiatives of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact. The reason for this is that, as before, the most important NATO countries remain deaf to the necessity of the new thinking and a new policy in the security sphere."

Finnish President Sends Thanks to Gorbachev

PM161625 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Mar 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Message From Finnish President"]

[Text] A message to M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has been received from Finnish President M. Koivisto in which he expresses sincere gratitude for the friendly congratulations sent him on his reelection as president of the Republic of Finland.

The message stresses the paramount significance of maintaining and further deepening the trust and good-neighborliness which have traditionally characterized Finnish-Soviet relations and the special significance of top-level personal contacts in determining the general thrust of relations between our countries and giving a positive impetus to their practical content. Finnish-Soviet relations are based on the durable, long-term foundations of the 1948 Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance. They are characterized today by extensive, effective ties in various spheres, a high level of trade and economic cooperation, and an atmosphere of sincere friendship and goodwill between our peoples. We, for our part, the president's message says, will continue to make efforts to promote the continuation, deepening, and progressive development of relations between our countries in accordance with the new demands of the time.

The message wishes the Soviet Union success in solving large-scale tasks in the domestic sphere and in the international arena.

Latin America & Caribbean

More on Deployment of U.S. Troops to Honduras

Units 'Urgently Dispatched'

PM181251 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 88 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent V. Gan report under the general heading "Trouble Spots of the World: Central America": "United States Aggravating Situation"]

[Text] Washington, 17 Mar—On President Reagan's orders, two battalions of the 82d Airborne Division and two battalions of the 7th Infantry Division numbering in all 3,200 men were urgently dispatched to Honduras today.

This came to light by the evening but had been straining American nerves all day. The White House's dramatic bulletins repeatedly caused the television companies to interrupt their programs. High-ranking administration spokesmen, including Secretary of State Shultz and presidential national security adviser Powell, made somber-faced announcements about a "genuine problem of U.S. national security."

A danger did indeed exist, only it was not for the United States but for the CIA-supported contra gangs which in the past 24 hours had suffered a series of crushing defeats at the Sandinists' hands. According to reports reaching Washington, the Nicaraguan Army had captured several terrorist bases and a considerable part of their arsenal.

Those contras who fled to safety in Honduras asked for aid. That was all Washington was waiting for. Rapidly sounding all the alarms, Washington announced that there had been a "very large incursion" into Honduran territory by the Sandinists.

It is curious that neither the Honduran Government nor its representatives in Washington asked for U.S. military aid or even confirmed the announcement of the "very large incursion" by the Nicaraguan Army. President Reagan nevertheless exercised the prerogative of the commander in chief of the U.S. Armed Forces and took the decision, which even the Pentagon has called "political, not military."

Indeed, that is how it has been viewed on Capitol Hill, where many legislators have accused the administration of juggling with the facts and manipulating public opinion so as to pressure the Congress and extract appropriations from it for new military aid to the contras. According to reports, the White House intends to present to Congress an urgent request for $100 million of military aid for the contras.

Ortega Raps U.S. Presence

LD181158 Moscow TASS in English 1042 GMT 18 Mar 88

[Text] Managua March 18 TASS—Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega pointed to the real threat of a direct U.S. armed intervention in this Central American country. Speaking at a press conference held here on Thursday, he pointed out that the United States is seeking to provoke an armed conflict between Honduras and Nicaragua in an attempt to thwart the process of a peaceful settlement in Central America and to step up U.S. interference in domestic affairs of Nicaraguan people.

The decision on airlifting units of the 82nd U.S. Airborne Division to Honduras, noted the Nicaraguan leader, was taken by the Reagan administration without the knowledge of the Honduran authorities to save

mercenary contra detachments from a devastating rout they are suffering from the Sandinist People's Army. Nicaraguan troops, the president pointed out, carried out several successful operations against Somozan gangs and eliminated their main bases in Nicaragua. Under these conditions the White House clearly seeks to bypass the ban of Congress on aid to contras and to use the presence of U.S. troops in Honduras for rendering military aid to hirelings, the president said.

The Nicaraguan leader demanded that the U.S. Administration stop interference in the affairs of Central America, withdraw U.S. troops from Honduras and dismantle U.S. military bases situated there. The Nicaraguan president called on the Nicaraguan population to preserve vigilance to give a telling rebuff to aggressors in case of a direct armed intervention by the United States.

A Nicaraguan Government spokesman said that the two U.S.-made fighters F-5 approaching from Honduras had fired on positions of the Sandinist People's Army (SPA) in Jinotega Department, in the north of Nicaragua. The air raid was repulsed by SPA antiaircraft artillery. The raid did not result in any casualties and destruction. Dozens of Nicaraguan and foreign journalists staying in that area eye-witnessed the bombing.

According to Radio Nicaragua, several planes invaded Nicaraguan airspace and made an overflight of Corinto, the Republic's biggest sea port, which was repeatedly an object of terrorist actions by CIA hirelings. Invading planes were met with ack-ack fire and retreated in the direction of the Honduran territory.

Protest demonstrations against the escalation of the U.S. aggression in Central America were held in Managua, Leon, Chinandega and other Nicaraguan cities. Thousands of residents of the Nicaraguan capital marched through the city streets on Thursday, demanding an immediate end to U.S. hostile actions against Nicaragua and a withdrawal of U.S. troops from neighboring Honduras. U.S. nationals who live in Nicaragua, staged in Managua a demonstration in front of the U.S. Embassy, protesting against growing U.S. military presence near the border with Nicaragua. Protesters demanded that Washington respect rules of international law and stop all types of aid to Somozan mercenary groups.

Ortega Demands U.N. Meeting

LD172119 Moscow TASS in English 1812 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Managua March 17 TASS—President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua has demanded an urgent meeting of the United Nations Security Council in connection with the transfer of U.S. troops into Honduras.

Addressing a new conference here today, he said that the relocation of 3,200 American Marines and paratroopers into the neighbouring country was "an extremely dangerous action" that posed a direct threat to Nicaragua.

"We call on the United States to end the escalation of war and withdraw its forces from Honduras," said the Nicaraguan leader.

U.S. 'Ballyhoo' Condemned

LD172041 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] ABC reports U.S. President Reagan has decided to send U.S. Army combat units to southern Honduras near the Nicaraguan border, in connection with a contemplated intervention by the Sandinist People's Army into Honduras. Yuriy Baranov, our correspondent in Central America, reports:

[Baranov] The propaganda ballyhoo around an imagined intervention by units of the Sandinist People's Army into Honduras has not died down but, on the contrary, has been stepped up after Honduran Army representatives said they did not know anything about their territory having been attacked. Is it a paradox or misunderstanding, perhaps? No, the true underlying cause of the anti-Sandinist campaign soon became clear to everybody. It is not simply another attempt by the United States to provoke a confrontation between Honduras and Nicaragua; it is a question of saving the mercenaries from the deep pit in which they have found themselves in northern Nicaragua following a successful operation by the Sandinist People's Army. This is what Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega told journalists.

By now the contras have lost more than 400 men. They are trying to break the encirclement and hide in their camps in Honduran territory. The sending of combat—not training, but combat—units of the U.S. Army to Honduras is evidence of the effort to bury the peace plan for Central America adopted in Guatemala, and of a new dangerous spiral of the escalation of hostile U.S. actions against Nicaragua. It was undertaken at a time when Nicaragua, unlike other participants in the Guatemala accords, was the first to approach the completion of a most important stage in their implementation—that is, some days before the start of direct talks for a cease-fire.

U.S. Wants 'To Destroy' Peace

LD172311 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1745 GMT 17 Mar 88

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Sergey Pravdin]

[Text] [Pravdin] As reported by EFE, the Pentagon went ahead with the deloyment of 3,000 to 4,000 troops in Honduras. That decision was made yesterday by President Reagan on the pretext that Nicaragua's Sandinist government was allegedly prepared to carry out an aggression against Honduras. Here is a comment by my colleague Vyacheslav Lavrentyev:

[Lavrentyev] It is noteworthy that the United States has proceeded with sending to Honduras four elite battalions, despite the statement by the Honduran Defense Ministry that it had no information about the aggression being prepared. After all, what kind of aggression can one seriously talk about if the Sandinist government of Nicaragua has shown through its deeds that it is extremely interested in implementing the Guatemala agreement on reaching a reliable and lasting peace in the region?

But in reality, the situation is like this: On 21 March, direct talks between the contras and the Sandinist government are to take place on Nicaraguan territory. In order to acquire extra leverage for the talks, the ringleaders of the counterrevolution have decided to expand their area of influence in northern Nicaragua—in other words, to make territorial gains. With that objective in mind, they recently launched active hostilities there, but the Sandinist Army has snatched away the initiative and gotten a large-scale offensive against the gangs underway.

Latest reports say that in the area of San Andres alone the revolutionary force fighters have eliminated up to 400 contras. Alejandro Bendana, secretary general of the Nicaraguan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, explained that the Sandinist fighters, in pursuit of the bandits, could possibly have actually crossed the border into Honduras at one place or another. But, naturally, an incursion was out of the question. Nevertheless, we have seen that the United States used that to sharply exacerbate the situation.

Washington seeks several objectives here. It is known that the U.S. Congress recently turned down the government's request on contra aid. Without the U.S. aid and support, the Nicaraguan counterrevolution is nothing. According to THE WASHINGTON POST, the contras are already stranded on the rocks. Their money has run out, and the stocks of weapons and ammunition are also running short.

That was why Washington made the decision to send in troops to Honduras, and Honduran territory bordering Nicaragua is the best possible place—and has happened on a number of occasions—for military material and equipment to be handed over to the contras.

Apart from that, the presence of U.S. troops in Honduras serves as a graphic reminder to Honduran authorities that they should not forget their pledges to the United States, that is, that they should remember U.S. interests when discussing Central American problems. That is essential to Washington, because both the Guatemala agreement and a number of other joint actions by the Central American republics bear witness to their desire to resolve their affairs without any assistance from the White House.

Finally, the presence of U.S. troops directly on the Nicaraguan border also steers the entire Central American settlement process in a different direction.

In any case, at the forthcoming talks with Managua, the contra ringleaders are going to behave in a more defiant way, and may perhaps even try to break them down as soon as possible. In the settlement process, the Government of Nicaragua plays an honest and open game. In conjunction with the tension on the Nicaraguan-Honduran border, it made UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar an offer to set up a commission of UN and OAU experts, and to send them to the site to examine the situation. In a word, the deployment of U.S. troops in Honduras is nothing but yet another attempt by Washington to destroy the process of searching for peace in Central America.

U.S. 'Direct Involvement' in Panama Coup Noted

LD181408 Moscow TASS in English 1305 GMT 18 Mar 88

[Text] Havana March 18 TASS—The tense situation in Panama, which has been aggravated by the military coup attempt last Wednesday and also mass street unrest erupted on the same day, is preserved. The Panamanian authorities take vigorous actions to prevent further rampage by the local reaction and also the possibility of a new putsch attempt. Reinforced army units patrol the streets of the Panamanian capital and other cities. Armed soldiers see to it that all state instutions, telephone exchanges and post offices function normally. Bridges and central transport arteries are under heavy security. Communal and public services, including electricity and water supply, and also the operation of ports, airports, hospitals, communications services and food supply to the population were put under control.

The instances of violence and theft have become more frequent in the capital and other cities of Panama in the last two days. In keeping with the instruction by President Manuel Solis Palma, police and army units were given wide powers to head off illegal raids by the reaction and ensure social order.

In the opinion of foreign journalists staying in Panama, top officers of the National Defence Forces and also the National Civilian Crusade Coalition had been involved in the abortive putsch. It has been learnt that the U.S. Embassy issued an instruction to the leaders of this reactionary alliance temporarily to cease calling the population for street demonstrations so as not to make the impression that the coalition had ties with the muniteers whose revolt was foiled. Observers note that exactly this instruction points up the right-wing opposition and the U.S. Embassy's direct involvement in the abortive military coup.

The White House refuses as before to recognize Panama's new President Manuel Solis Palma as the lawful head of government and demands the resignation

of the patriotically-minded military men. Tens of millions of dollars belonging to Panama are freezed in U.S. banks in keeping with Washington's unlawful decision. As a result, the Panamanian authorities have difficulties with paying the salaries of public employees.

Panama Mass Rally 'Parody of Political Action'

PM171531 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Mar 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent N. Ognev dispatch: "Fact and Fable. Reportage From Panama"]

[Text] Panama City, 12 Mar—Having read more than enough Western correspondents' "front-line reportages" from Panama, I expected to see here if not a battlefield then at least an arena of serious clashes between the police and massive antigovernment demonstrations by right-wing forces. But the colorful, typically southern noisy and crowded streets of the Panamanian capital do not give this impression.

The "latest mass rally" widely publicized a day or two ago of supporters of the opposition government of the ultraright "National Crusade" league turned into a parody of a political action. Comfortably installed in luxurious air-conditioned limousines with in-car stereo, a small number of these "fighters for democracy and justice"—as they call themselves—made an unusual tour of the main streets of the fashionable banking center. The less courageous of them limited themselves to throwing shreds of paper or white confetti from the balconies or windows of the upper floors of their multistory homes. But the most desperate of them—mainly teenagers hired, as it turned out, for 10 dollars and split up into small groups—ran from garbage dump to garbage dump, scattered the rubbish and set fire to it, or dragged all kinds of trash onto the street in imitation of street barricades, and then disappeared.

Aspiring to witness "heated battles" between police detachments and these "participants in barricade fighting," the large corps of journalists, particularly the foreign ones, raced from one intersection to the next in search of scenes and episodes which would be useful from a propaganda viewpoint. During this professional rivalry some of them were injured, and I suppose they will become the "heroes" of the reportages inasmuch as in the absence of "victims of police terror," the television cameramen of a number of countries took many pictures of their "wounded" colleagues.

It is no secret that these and the more serious actions are fueled and even inspired by Washington. The U.S. press, citing the "mass unrest," is actively promoting the idea of the threat of civil war in Panama—that is, it is providing "justification" for a possible solution via the U.S. Administration's direct intervention in the sovereign state's internal affairs.

Panamanian "mediators" are also beginning to arouse passions. The wife of President E. Delvalle, deposed at the end of February by the Legislative Assembly and until now recognized by official Washington as the head of the Panamanian state, has openly appealed to the U.S. Government to take military action.

A popular movement is spreading throughout the country to counteract the actions of the antinational forces. The working people and representatives of democratic organizations of the provinces of Cocle and Herrera today declared their complete support for the government and asked the Reagan administration to end its policy of blackmail, economic pressure, and destabilization. The Panamanians themselves will sort out their own affairs, the speakers at meetings have stated.

Brazilian Communist Party Holds Plenum

PM171911 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Mar 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Brazilian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Brasilia, 16 Mar—A Brazilian Communist Party [PCB] Central Committee plenum has been held in the Brazilian city of Sao Paulo to discuss basic questions of the international situation and the party's policy under the conditions of the acute political and socioeconomic crisis which Brazil is going through.

The plenum participants particularly emphasized the international significance of the policy of restructuring and glasnost in the USSR, which has strengthened socialism's prestige, and pointed out that the process taking place in the Soviet Union is an important stage in the development of the theory of Marxism-Leninism and in the peoples' struggle for democracy and social progress and contributes to disarmament and the strengthening of peace on the planet.

The plenum approved the text of a letter from Salomao Malina, secretary general of the PCB Central Committee, to the CPSU Central Committee. The USSR proposal to create a system of international security free from the threat of nuclear war, the document disseminated here states, opens up the way to the establishment of a climate of mutual understanding throughout the world.

The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles signed between the USSR and the United States, the letter states, marks the start of an effective arms reduction.

Analyzing the internal political situation in Brazil, the PCB Central Committee plenum advocated the formation of a new political bloc which would unite all forces that support the strengthening of democracy in the country.

Argentina's Caputo Attends UN Falklands Session
LD161644 Moscow TASS in English 1544 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Buenos Aires March 16 TASS—TASS correspondent O. Kolesnikov reports:

Argentine Foreign Minister Dante Caputo flew to New York Tuesday to attend the U.N. Security Council meeting in New York. At the request of the Argentine Government it will discuss the situation in south Atlantic where Britain has been holding clearly provocative military manoeuvres since March 7.

According to Argentine press reports, the key phase of the games, which set off an outcry in Latin America, is to begin today: the movement from Britain to the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands of a troop contingent and military equipment, specifically, Phantom bombers and C-130 Hercules wide-body transport aircraft.

If not to consider the "voyage" of the British expedition corps to south Atlantic in 1982, when the flame of the armed conflict with Argentina was raging there, it is for the first time since the end of the Second World War that Britain sends its troops so far from its shores, newspapers note. Under the plans devised, the entire operation to send in reinforcement for the British 2,000-strong garrison stationed in the archipelago will take about 20 hours. The U.S. military base on the Ascension Island will be used again, like six years ago, as a way station.

In keeping with the United Nations decision, south Atlantic was proclaimed a zone of peace and cooperation, but in London they clearly do not intend to consider the view of the world community. A special correspondent of the Swiss newspaper LA SUISSE, who arrived at the Falkland (Malvinas Islands), reports that at least one British nuclear-powered submarine is stationed there now. The airfield, which was built several years ago, is capable of handling military aircraft of any type. Anti-aircraft batteries, missile launchers and helicopter squadrons protect the "security" of some 2,000 residents of the fortress-archipelago. A powerful radar monitoring center is in operation on the islands.

Political & Social

Nagorno-Karabakh Difficulties Persist

Katusev Visits Armenia

NC171816 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 17 Mar 88

[From the republican press review]

[Excerpt] KOMMUNIST reports that Aleksey Katusev, the deputy prosecutor-general of the USSR, has paid a visit to Armenia. He acquainted himself with the current situation in the republic and the activities of [words indistinct] bodies and held interviews with workers. [passage omitted]

Muslim-Zade Dismissal Reported

NC180635 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0525 GMT 18 Mar 88

[From the review of SOVETAKAN AYASTAN]

[Text] The paper reports that a plenum of the Sumgait Gorkom of the Azerbaijan Communist Party has been held and has examined an organizational matter.

The plenum relieved Muslim-Zade of his duties as first secretary of the Sumgait Gorkom for political nonchalance shown, for major shortcomings in organizational and political work, and for non-party behavior which led to tragic consequences in the city.

Gadzhiyev, hitherto chairman of the Nakhitchevan ASSR Council of Ministers, was elected first secretary of Sumgait Gorkom.

Mamedov Dismissal Reported

NC180651 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0525 GMT 18 Mar 88

[From the review of SOVETAKAN AYASTAN]

[Text] The paper draws the attention of its readers to a session of the 18th convocation of the Soviet of the Peoples Deputies of Sumgait. The convocation examined an organizational matter and relieved Mamedov of his duties as chairman of the Gorispolkom for serious shortcomings he has allowed in the maintenance of the appropriate law and order and discipline in the city, for the political shortsightedness he has shown, and for his failure to take timely measures to prevent the negative phenomena which led to tragic consequences in the city.

Refugees Arrive From Sumgait

NC180602 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0525 GMT 18 Mar 88

[From the review of SOVETAKAN AYASTAN]

[Text] The paper publishes a communique from ARMENPRES which says in particular:

As is already known, Armenian families and citizens have been coming to our republic following the events in Sumgait. So far 1,661 persons have arrived in Soviet Armenia. A number of them have been staying with relatives and others have been temporarily housed in official buildings in the republic.

A commission headed by Vladimir Movsisyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers, is working to examine the problems of citizens who have arrived from Sumgait. In accordance with a decision by the republic's government, urgent material and other help is being given to the needy families and persons among the arrivals. Citizens' requests and applications are being given consideration and appropriate measures are being taken.

Investigation of Sumgait 'Crimes'

NC181322 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 18 Mar 88

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] A special team from the USSR Prosecutor's Office is conducting an investigation into the events in Sumgait. On instructions from the USSR Prosecutor's Office, an inquiry team has been set up by the Prosecutor's Office of the Armenian SSR to question victims and eyewitnesses who have arrived from Sumgait and are now in the republic, in order to conduct the necessary investigations, in accordance with penal legislation, to establish the circumstances of the crimes that have been committed.

Workers Discuss Ethnic Issues

NC180850 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] The problems of perestroyka were the main topic for those who took part in a roundtable discussion organized at the Baku Electric Motor Building Plant named after the 50th anniversary of the Azerbaijani Komsomol. The discussion was organized by the republican branch of the USSR Philosophical Society.

The workers who spoke informally with scientists and philosophers were particularly interested in questions relating to the democratization of social life and ethnic and interethnic relations. For the 3,000-person enterprise, where representatives of many nationalities live and work, these are not just theoretical questions but matters of first-hand practical experience. Everyone

spoke of the necessity to educate the working people about the multinational traditions of Soviet society in a spirit of friendship and fraternity among the peoples of the USSR.

Nagorno-Karabakh Obkom Appeal

AU181240 Paris AFP in English 1233 GMT 18 Mar 88

[Excerpts] Moscow, March 18 (AFP)—The regional committee (Obkom) of the Communist Party in Nagorny Karabakh on Thursday night officially called for the autonomous region to be restored to Armenia, an obkom official reached by telephone said on Friday.

The region, which was transferred to neighbouring Azerbaijan in 1923 by Stalin, was the focus of inter-ethnic rioting last month between Armenians and Azerbaijanis, in which unofficial reports have said hundreds were killed or injured.

The obkom official said the committee had adopted a resolution calling for the region's restitution at a plenary session, after 70,000 people had demonstrated earlier in the day in the region's capital Stepanakert. The resolution was published on Friday in the local paper SOVETSKIY KARABAKH, the official said. He read the text over the telephone, which called on the Politburo to remedy the "historic error" committed when Nagorno-Karabakh was brought under Azerbaijan. The text said this was the "will of the overwhelming majority" of Communist Party members in the region and met the "aspirations" of Armenians, three quarters of the region's 200,000 inhabitants. It called on the Politburo to study the question of restoring Nagorno-Karbakh to Armenia and "resolve it in a positive way".

He said the resolution would be conveyed to the authorities in the Azerbaijani capital, Baku, and to the central leadership in Moscow.

An official at Stepanakert hospital, reached by telephone, said many people from nearby districts had joined in Thursday's demonstration in the region's capital, which has a population of around 70,000. All activity had been brought to a halt, apart from the health services, she added. [passage omitted]

The resolution adopted on Thursday by the obkom is all the more significant because Boris Kevorkov, the region's first secretary for 15 years, was sacked on February 24 for failing to carry out his duties. He was replaced by Genrikh Pogosyan.

At a meeting at the Kremlin on March 9, Mr. Gorbachev charged the Secretariat of the Central Committee with suggesting solutions to the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh.

'Triumph of Reason' Hoped

PM171423 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 1 Mar 88 p 1

[Editorial: "Strengthening the Bonds of Friendship"]

[Text] In the old cemetery in the village of Azat, Bardenisskiy Rayon, there is a monument erected in honor of the national poet, Alesker, by the Armenian Ministry of Culture. His face is lean, his gaze fixed on the distance, his fingers resting on the narrow fingerboard of the saz. Alesker was born and bred in Azat, where he composed his simple, heartfelt songs which have delighted Azerbaijanis and Armenians alike. During the difficult period of history when World War I erupted he temporarily abandoned the traditional themes of bardic lyric poetry and began singing of peace and friendship among the peoples. But he did not just sing. With a group of Azerbaijani and Armenian friends he toured the villages of this mountain region and urged people to forget their discords and differences and return again to to the friendliness which had always characterized two peoples who lived alongside each other and shared their joys, tears, songs, and bread. And throughout time the best minds and worthiest sons of the two peoples have urged friendship and fraternal unity.

History is complex and very difficult, many arduous trials have befallen each people, and there have been quite a few incidents in which the endurance of age-old friendship has been put to the test. And always, in the most difficult times, the voice of reason—a sober, wise voice concerned for the people's fate—has been heard. The peoples have reached out to each other in response to the beckoning of the heart, because friendship and mutual aid form the basis of peace and prosperity, the basis of happiness, the natural state of life. National discord, hatred, and spite are, on the other hand, contrary to the true nature of man. The October Revolution, which turned the deeply humanist ideas of Lenin into a reality, and Soviet power put the age-old friendships of the peoples on a new, sound, and solid foundation—they fused economies and united peoples, big and small, in the struggle for common goals. And today every conscious citizen is deeply aware of how interrelated are the successes and achievements of all the nations and ethnic groups of our motherland.

We have become so accustomed to these truths. The belief that there were no more national problems in the country and that Soviet people absorbed internationalism with their mother's milk has been so deeply and organically a part of our life and bloodstream. It now turns out, however, that such problems, very serious ones, do exist. Why are we today so severe in our assessment of negative phenomena, the shady aspects of our history? Because we were previously basically concerned with noting the really great achievements in solving the national question and assessed the situation in glowing terms. Yet we are dealing with real life in all its variety and complexity.

Relations between nationalities demand constant, benign, and committed attention, great spiritual exertion, and great intelligence and tact.

It must be said that quite a lot has been done in the republic in recent years to improve working people's international education. The bonds of cooperation with cities and rayons in the Transcaucasian republics have strengthened and the achievements of Georgia, Azerbaijan, and other fraternal republics in the country have begun to receive more extensive coverage in the local press.

Work to recruit the most worthy representatives of the nonindigenous nationality into the party has improved. In 1985, for example, 361 people of nonindigenous nationality were accepted into the CPSU's ranks, in 1986 392, and in 1987 418. Questions concerning the selection and placement of leading cadres in light of the representation of nations and ethnic groups in the republic are being put in good order.

The republic possesses the Azerbaijani Theater Named for Dzh. Dzhabarla and a Kurdish amateur dramatic theater. At the beginning of the year there were 119 Russian, Azerbaijani, Kurdish, and Assyrian amateur artistic collectives operating just in clubs run by the Armenian SSR Ministry of Culture. The republic's party organizations must continue their work in these and other avenues, seeking above all to achieve high work efficiency and a profound effect on the minds and best sentiments of representatives of all nationalities.

M.S. Gorbachev's Appeal to the working people and the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia found a grateful response in people's hearts because those intelligible, clear, and well-meant words combine humanity and statecraft.

The party does not avoid frank discussion of different ideas and suggestions, M.S. Gorbachev said. But this has to be done calmly, as part of the democratic process and rule of law, allowing not the slightest damage to be caused to the international unity of our peoples. Very serious questions concerning the people's fate must not be allowed to get out of hand and be determined by emotion.

The thoughts of Communists, nonparty people, rank-and-file working people, and leaders representing our two republics are in tune with these words. This is what I. Bagirov, first secretary of the Amasiyskiy Armenian Communist Party Raykom and deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, had to say:

"The events of recent days are heartbreaking. Armenians and Armenia, which has become my motherland, are immensely close to me, a son of the Azerbaijani people. I am well aware of the grandeur of spirit of the people living there and the loftiness of their feelings. After all, I was born in Yerevan and have spent all my life in this beautiful republic. I have never had any sense of being an outsider here."

Echoing him, S. Arutyunyan, an elderly peasant from the Karabakh village of Kaladaryadi, said:

"I have worked all my life shoulder to shoulder with Armenians, Azerbaijanis, and representatives of other nationalities and I can now easily call at any house, Armenian or Azerbaijani. I know that I will be gladly welcomed in either. I have children living and working in both fraternal republics."

A large number of very serious problems have accumulated in the country and in society in past years. And the Appeal spoke about them with utter frankness. "You know," M.S. Gorbachev wrote, "that it is intended to devote a plenum of our party's Central Committee specially to the development of national relations. A broad range of questions concerning this very important social sphere is to be discussed."

Lenin counseled the utmost prudence and tact in the national question. There can be and must be no preconceived ideas in these matters. One thing is clear: When our nations' fundamental interests coincide, when the principle of equality in everything underpins relations among nationalities—and that precisely describes how things are in our society—then it is possible to solve any problems or misunderstandings that arise even in difficult situations.

The process of restructuring and radical reform of the economy are still gathering momentum. Only the initial steps have been taken and there are no striking results to date. However, it is clear right now what great work awaits us and what marvelous results it could bring.

We believe in the justice of our system and in the wisdom of our party, and it is essential to demonstrate today the civic maturity and fortitude required of us and to do everything possible to ensure the triumph of reason and good.

Grigoryants News Conference

PM171050 Paris LIBERATION in French 12-13 Mar 88 p 16

[Basile Karlinsky report: "The Caucasian Circle of Hatred"]

[Text] A 1-hour general strike paralyzed Armenia yesterday. It was called during a stormy meeting on Wednesday night by the Organizing Committee which has been leading the demonstrations for a month. Some people wanted to call an immediate 3-day strike, but that was eventually postponed until 26 March. This information was given in Moscow by Sergey Grigoryants, editor of the independent newspaper GLASNOST.

He had just returned from Armenia and was accompanied by one of his colleagues who had just returned from Azerbaijan. They described the current situation in the Caucasus.

Grigoryants revealed that students had urged the committee to demand the convening of an extraordinary session of the republic's Supreme Soviet to ask Moscow to return Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia. The students even approached each Supreme Soviet member directly and asked him to personally sign the request for a session to be convened. So far no deputy has refused and there should soon be a quorum.

The students also appealed to the population to withdraw the mandate of deputies who do not vote for the return of Nagorno-Karabakh.

The committee comprises more than 1,000 people who represent grass-roots organizations in all the cities and in all the region's big enterprises. An executive body comprising around 100 members has been formed.

The authorities have tried to discredit the Union for National Self-Determination which is leading the movement. Several grass-roots committees have disbanded, especially among artists and intellectuals, to avoid "being trapped by the extremists in the Union for National Self-Determination."

During this press conference, the GLASNOST chief editor showed journalists extracts from a video taken in Nagorno-Karabakh on 25 and 26 February. The video shows injured Armenians who were victims of a "punitive expedition" sent by the Azeris during the big demonstrations in Yerevan at the end of last month. It also shows burned and plundered houses and protest meetings held by Armenians in several cities in the region.

The Yerevan committee has sent this movie to Gorbachev. Andrey Shilkov, Grigoryants' colleague, who spent several days in Sumgait and Baku also showed the journalists photographs showing the deployment of troops—infantrymen and armored vehicles—patrolling in the streets of Sumgait, and plundered and burned houses.

The Armenian district of Sumgait is empty and the city's 16,000 Armenians have been evacuated and grouped in two areas in the surrounding district to which the army is forbidding access. According to Shilkov, who was able to question eye-witnesses, the massacres which took place in the city on 27 and 28 February claimed more victims than the 33 dead officially admitted. The press conference also supplied new information about the "criminal manipulations" of which the Yerevan Organizing Committee accused the KGB and party, alleging that they had made every effort to set the two communities against each other in Armenia and Azerbaijan. In Yerevan, Armenian militants accuse Dolgikh and Lukyanov, the Politburo's envoys, of trying to set Armenians against Azeris. They were sent to Yerevan at the end of February and "warned" the population, even before the Sumgait riots occurred, that the Azeris would react violently to the Armenian claim to Nagorno-Karabakh.

In addition, printed pamphlets (which presupposes that they were issued by an administrative department) appeared in Nagorno-Karabakh after the first intercommunity clashes in that region. These pamphlets, aimed at the Azeris, were intended to frighten them and force them to go back to Azerbaijan under threat of vengeance by the Armenians. They were promised that work and housing awaited them there. According to the participants in the press conference, it is in Sumgait that the administration has rehoused all the Azeris who have returned from Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia, as the pamphlets urged them to do.

It is in this city that Armenians have been massacred. The Sumgait massacres began on 28 February, the very day that Katushev, the USSR's deputy general prosecutor, gave an account of the Nagorno-Karabakh disturbances on Azerbaijani television. He blamed the Armenians for those disturbances and only mentioned two Azeri casualties, omitting to mention the Armenian casualties. The Yerevan committee members regard that as a deliberate KGB plan aimed at frightening Armenians and forcing them to abandon their claim to Nagorno-Karabakh, out of a fear of new reprisals from the Azeris.

Whether or not it is a deliberate plan, TASS itself, in its first communiques on the Sumgait "troubles," made it clear that they were started by "a family of Azeris who had fled Nagorno-Karabakh."

Kremlin Approach to Nationalities Problem Viewed

PM161354 Paris LE MONDE in French 16 Mar 88 pp 1,4

[Bernard Guetta dispatch: "Third Aspect of Restructuring"]

[Text] Moscow—The Soviet leadership and all the independent political groups now have something in common. The "national question" has now becoming so upsetting for all of them that the opposition is worried about the situation getting out of control, and a top party official had no hesitation in saying to LE MONDE last Friday that "to enable the (Soviet) organism to remain whole" it must "be given a new circulation system."

In other words, the Kremlin thinks, to prevent the emergence of real tensions caused by centrifugal tendencies, restructuring must be given a third aspect—the decentralization of political power—in addition to the economic reform (launched in early January) and the democratization of the party which is to be debated by a conference in June. It is this third aspect which is to be

tackled in the early fall at the Central Committee plenum on the nationalities problem, as Mr Gorbachev announced a few months ago.

This desire to persevere with reforms and even to extend them confirms Mr Gorbachev's refusal to back down before those who are using the development of national tensions to attack glasnost and to try to place an additional curb on it. The battle is continuing even more fiercely and the confrontation is becoming particularly unusual because, although the conservatives have no program with which to counter restructuring, the general secretary's supporters make no secret of the fact that they propose "to go much further, but without knowing exactly where the road will lead."

Mr Gorbachev's supporters would like to resort to "new ways which have not yet been explored, still less tested, and are difficult to define and tread at the same time."

But they prefer these uncertain routes to "old methods" because, they say, the "recent events in different regions have reminded us, like a warning signal, that in such a big country, which has more than 100 nationalities, restructuring must also rethink ways in which these nations can coexist within their Union." This is why, they add, this national question rose to the top of the list of priorities between Mr Gorbachev's speech in November to mark the 70th anniversary of the revolution and the report he presented to the last plenum in February.

And judging from the analysis made in official circles, the speed of this readjustment is understandable. The first point is that the problem does not just exist "between the Russians and the others" but more especially among the various neighboring peoples, and between the "small" and "large" national groups. The former's "nationalism" is a response to the latter's "chauvinism." This state of affairs is said to stem from the fact that socialism has "removed the material bases for national tensions by correcting the marked inequalities in levels of development which previously existed among the peoples of the Russian empire but, on the other hand, has so far proved incapable of eliminating the psychological and historical aspects" of these tensions.

The explanation is rather dismissive of the simple desire for independence which exists in several republics which clearly remember that they were annexed by force and, prior to that, enjoyed an enviable level of development. However, the fact remains that the mistrust between Azeris and Armenians predates the Soviet regime.

The second point is that it is the "desire to develop the outer reaches of the empire" and the resulting strengthening of economies, written cultures, and national intelligentsias which complicates matters because "this progress has led to a change in relations between these peoples and the boss" (the Russians).

"Father-Son" [subhead]

Furthermore, this situation has been completely reversed in some cases, where the level of services and quality of life have become better than in Russia, and the "father-son relationship" which hitherto prevailed must change if further complications in the situation are to be avoided.

However, this change is extremely complex, they add, because over 70 years, the map of different nationalities has been considerably modified by massive migrations, which tend to place several peoples in a minority in their own republics or regions at the very time when their identity is being asserted.

Glasnost and restructuring have been added to this situation. "By eliminating the fear which had been perpetuated even under Brezhnev," glasnost allows the expression of problems which have built up over decades (the arbitrary measures adopted under Stalin, among other things) "and of those which are now emerging." Because it "is a threat to the traditional structures of stagnation," restructuring is prompting some people to try to defend themselves by seizing on the national question as a weapon—a weapon which has hitherto been buried because it is explosive.

Does this mean, as is being widely rumored, that some local party leaderships are deliberately using this weapon against Mr Gorbachev? This is "an extremely simplistic view," they reply, because it would be "absolutely inconceivable" for first secretaries or central committees to directly oppose the Soviet Central Committee. However, at intermediate levels, in the political and economic apparatuses or in the parallel structures of the black market, the question is at least potentially relevant.

The local mafias (very strongly condemned by the central press) are clearly prepared to do anything to safeguard a system in which many had learned to prosper under the benevolent shadow of Brezhnevism. In these circumstances, it is important to constantly bear in mind the possible repercussions of restructuring on national hotbeds of tension. According to university sources linked to the government, the Kremlin has already detected 18 such hotbeds and expects to see this number doubled or trebled at the first blunder or excess of laxness or firmness.

The End of the "Garden of Nations" [subhead]

What do they plan to do in these conditions? First, they plan to abandon the Stalinist illusion of the possibility of creating "a garden of nations" within the Union, because it is impossible to solve problems dating back several centuries in the same ways as "housing or kindergarten" problems. Second, they plan to systematically seek the social, economic, or other problems behind the exacerbation of a national problem which explain why tensions are increasing. "For instance, do you know," a top party official said, referring to the major issue of the day, "that

in the Nagorno-Karabakh the Azeris have virtually complete control of the traffic police and the bodies responsible for allocating apartments, that links between the region and Armenia are deliberately complicated, or that it is still impossible to receive Armenian television there?"

An end to these anomalies should be announced before the end of the month, they say, and Mr Gorbachev's promise to the Armenians that he would answer their grievances by 26 March will thus be kept. But with regard to the heart of the problem—the administrative status of the Nagorno-Karabakh—no rapid decision can be expected because it will be necessary to proceed with care and not risk offending one side by satisfying the other.

In other words, maps are not about to be redrawn, but preparations are being made for the conference which, by democratizing the party, will, it is thought, pave the way for decentralization which should give the republics and regions greater financial independence, increase the power of their assemblies and democratize the way in which their leaders are elected.

It is an ambitious program. Listening to it, one can only cite what Mr Gorbachev said last week: "Time will tell."

Ligachev Congratulates Olympic Sportsmen

LD160013 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A meeting was held at the CPSU Central Committee today with Soviet sportsmen who participated in the winter Olympics. Taking part in the meeting were Comrades Zaykov, Ligachev, Demichev, and Lukyanov. Comrade Gramov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports and of the USSR's National Olympic Committee, spoke about the results of the winter Games in Calgary. The Soviet side gained the best team results, winning 29 medals, of which 11 were gold, 9 were silver, and 9 bronze. This is the greatest success ever achieved by Soviet sportsmen since they began participating in the winter Olympics.

Members of the Soviet Olympic team spoke at the meeting in the CPSU Central Committee. Addressing the Soviet Olympic sportsmen, Comrade Ligachev cordially thanked them on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers, for their brilliant performance at the 15th Winter Olympic Games in Calgary. He stressed that at the present stage of the social transformations in the country and the implementation of the policy of restructuring the Communist Party attaches great importance to forming an all-round, harmoniously developed personality, to reinforcing Soviet people's health, and to introducing physical culture and sport into their everyday life. Your sporting achievements and your way of life develop and strengthen Soviet people's patriotic feelings and actively promote the establishment of a healthy home life in society.

Comrade Ligachev stressed that the policy of restructuring embraces all areas of society, including culture. A great deal of restructuring has to be done in the country's physical culture movement as well. There is still a considerable degree of bureaucracy in the work of sports societies and physical culture organizations. The time has come to introduce in it a mechanism for broad democracy and to involve athletes and sportsmen themselves even more fully in managing physical culture and sport at all levels. A new style is needed here—a genuinely democratic and businesslike one. A great deal of work has to be done to reinforce the sports base, including in educational establishments, and in training teaching staff in the area of physical culture and sport. There are other problems with sport and the physical culture movement as well. In developing a critical analysis of the state of affairs in sport, goodwill should be shown toward those who are working in an innovative way, bringing physical culture to the masses and training sportsmen. The difficult work done by trainers has to be appreciated.

The summer Olympics lie ahead, Comrade Ligachev concluded. By confidently completing the winter games, it is as if you are passing the baton to the Soviet sportsmen who are to participate in the summer Olympics. May your remarkable example inspire them and help them to perform successfully.

The meeting in the CPSU Central Committee passed off in a businesslike and cordial atmosphere. Taking part in it were Comrade Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Comrade Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU; Comrade Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; Senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee; and the leaders of a number of ministries and departments.

Ligachev, Vorotnikov Honor Writer Makarenko

LD152346 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] A festive meeting devoted to the 100th anniversary of the birth of Anton Semenovich Makarenko took place today in the Hall of Columns at the House of Unions. In the presidium were: Comrade Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Comrade Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; representatives of party, local soviet and public organizations, and labor collectives; and scientific and cultural figures. Comrade Yagodin, chairman of the USSR State Committee for

National Education, opening the meeting, stressed the enormous significance of the work of Anton Semenovich for the development of the Soviet school and pedagogical science.

On the same day an all-union scientific-practical conference opened in Moscow entitled "The pedagogical legacy of Makarenko and contemporary problems of educating young people."

Demichev Attends Kremlin Awards Ceremony

LD151845 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Today Comrade Demichev handed out awards of the motherland in the Kremlin. Ponomarev, USSR People's Artist, was decorated with the Order of Lenin; while Orders of the October Revolution were awarded to Belyayev, editor in chief of newspaper SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, and Izmerov, member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences. In addition Orders of the Labor Red Banner, the Friendship of People, Badge of Honor, medals for Labor Valor and for Labor Excellence were awarded.

Shcherbitskiy: Practical Decision Implementation

LD152342 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Practical ways to implement the decision of the CPSU Central Committee on the work of the Kiev city party organization in fulfilling the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress were discussed today at a meeting of the aktiv of the party organization of the capital of Ukraine.

In the report by Comrade Masik, Kiev Gorkom first secretary, and in speeches, it was stressed that Communists and the working people of the city have perceived the decision of the CPSU Central Committee as a concrete program of action in the second stage of restructuring. In talking about changes for the better the speakers also pointed out that restructuring in the city's primary party organizations and labor collectives does not as yet have the necessary depth. The gorkom and raykoms are slowly perfecting the style of leadership in work with cadres slowly.

The participants in the meeting approved comprehensive measures to implement the CPSU Central Committee decision. Comrade Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, spoke at the meeting.

Police Try To Raid Offices of GLASNOST

AU180949 Paris AFP in English 0932 GMT 18 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 18 (AFP)—Soviet police tried to raid the editorial offices of the dissident newsletter GLASNOST in the Moscow suburbs on Thursday, but staff managed to lock them out, one of the staff said on Friday.

Andrey Shinkov said several uniformed and plainclothed police surrounded the building late Thursday afternoon where the newsletter is produced, in Kratovo, 25 kms (15 miles) outside central Moscow. Two of them managed to get inside and demanded to search the newsroom, but the three staff on duty, including Mr. Shinkov, prevented them by locking the office door.

Police then took down the names of around 10 visitors in the waiting room. After two hours of "heated discussion", a local militia chief arrived and ordered the police to leave the premises. He said he would be inviting the newsletter's editor, former political prisoner Sergey Grigoriyants, to come to see him "for a chat".

It was the third time that police had attempted to raid the premises of GLASNOST, named after the Soviet leadership's avowed new policies of openness, but the first since the newsletter moved its operation from Moscow to Kratovo a few months ago.

Estonians Reject Nomination for Arts Academy

PM161123 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 15 Mar 88 p 2

["Letter to the Editorial Office"—SOVETSKAYA KULTURA headline]

[Text] On 13 and 16 February this year SOVETSKAYA KULTURA published lists of candidates for election as members or corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Arts. Our names appear on this list.

We highly appreciate the motives of the persons or organizations that nominated us. But the appearance of our names on the list of competitors could create the illusion that election to the USSR Academy of Arts conforms with our own wishes. We consider it our duty to declare publicly that our names were included among the candidates without our knowledge or consent. This is why we can lay no claim at all to membership in this organization.

Ayme Unt, honored painter of the Estonian SSR

Boris Bernshteyn, honored artist of the Estonian SSR

Lev Gens, honored artist of the Estonian SSR

Ando Keskkyula, honored painter of the Estonian SSR

Tallinn

Panic Sugar Buying Reported in Kiev

AU181448 Paris AFP in English 1448 GMT 18 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 18 (AFP)—Sugar rationing to curb bootleg production has sparked violence in Kiev, with store managers being roughed up by shoppers and fights breaking out in queues.

The sugar clampdown was caused by a sharp increase in the production of an illicit liquor called samogon. Russians had turned to bootlegging because of restriction on sales of vodka and other drinks imposed by the Kremlin in its three-year anti-alcohol drive.

Some shopkeepers have been taken to hospital or had their clothes ripped in attacks by angry shoppers, who now have to queue for hours to buy their allotted kilogramme (2.2 pounds) of sugar. Shoppers have been injured in fist-fights in queues, a police officer said in a copy of the local daily PRAVDA UKRAINY which reached here Friday. The newspaper has reported that the measures were introduced by the Ukrainian Trade Ministry after Kiev consumed more than 640 tons of sugar over the norm in the last two months. Sugar consumption in the Ukraine as a whole was 25,000 tons above the norm.

Grocery stores were told to limit their sales to no more than 67 kilogrammes of sugar per day from March 6. The limit rose to 132 kilogrammes last Saturday, but the shops were only allowed to sell 40 cent of the total from 8 a.m. and the rest after 5 p.m., with other restrictions at the weekend.

The paper said that the measures had generated panic buying, despite the fact that the top limit of 132 kilogrammes per day was actually higher than the usual amount of sugar sold in the stores.

Ukraine Deputy Trade Minister Vladimir Timofeyev was quoted as saying that some people had suggested introducing sugar rationing coupons, as unspecified regions in the Soviet Union had done.

Militia Acts To Maintain Order at Liquor Stores

PM181015 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian
12 Mar 88 First Edition p 2

["Response to Criticism" by V. Barkun, deputy chief of the USSR MVD Maintenance of Public Order Main Administration: "'They Died in a Fight at the Counter'"]

[Text] The article entitled "They Died in a Fight at the Counter," published on 5 February, raised extremely topical problems which are not only characteristic of Karelia but are to be encountered in a number of other regions in the country. The USSR MVD is concerned by the state of public order in liquor stores. In order to reinforce law and order, internal affairs organs are taking additional organizational and practical measures. In particular, militia posts have been set up at all stores in Petrozavodsk and patrol routes by details, and the volunteer people's militia have been brought closer to these stores. Work to detect and stop breaches of antialcohol legislation and acts of hooliganism is being tightened up. In 1987, a total of 2,500 transgressors were arrested at stores selling alcohol and had criminal charges brought against them.

Amendments have been made to the organization of preventive and educational work with people who abuse alcohol, and a sober lifestyle is being more actively propagandized.

The article "They Died in a Fight at the Counter" has been discussed by all subdivisions of internal affairs organs. Personnel's attention has been drawn to the need to react promptly to the slightest complication of the situation at liquor stores, increase their vigilance while on duty, and strengthen socialist legality.

In order to regulate trade in alcoholic beverages, the Karelian ASSR MVD leadership has sent proposals to the republic's party and soviet organs concerning changes in the opening hours of liquor stores, measures to increase their capacity, and others.

The USSR MVD has outlined a program to further improve antialcohol work and step up the struggle against drunkenness, alcoholism, and moonshining. It has expanded the range of measures which are to be implemented in conjunction with other ministries and departments and the mass media.

More on Leningrad Aeroflot Hijacking, Reaction

Crew Returns to Irkutsk; Interviewed

LD172112 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] The crew of the TU-154 aircraft that was flying to Leningrad via Kurgan on 8 March has returned to Irkutsk. As has already been reported, during that flight an attempt was made to hijack the plane and fly out of the USSR. Among those who tried to foil the crime and save the passengers was air hostess Tamara Zharkaya, who was killed by the bandits' bullets.

A funeral was held in Irkutsk today. Thousands of people came to bid farewell to Tamara: workers, students, the city's intelligentsia, and the collective in which the fearless girl had worked.

Our correspondent Vladimir Kurtkin interviewed members of the crew.

[Begin recording] [Kurtkin] Air hostess Irina Vasilyeva:

[Vasilyeva] I was with her during almost the last minutes. And I said: Tamara. She asked one of us to stay there, and I said: Let us go together. Then she sort of changed facially, like someone who had decided something for herself; then, not so much to me as to herself, she said: I will go in a minute; I will try. Then one, two—and she had gone. I was right behind her. We came out and went into the compartment together, and the one who had been conducting the negotiations all the time

dashed up toward us. She went right past him, right to the end of the tail section. She seemed to have already chosen a spot for herself, and sat on an arm rest so as to see them, too.

Well, they immediately started to point the sawed-off shotgun and said that the second woman was to go to her place. I returned to the kitchen, and from then on I could see her keeping on saying something to them at the end of the compartment. Once we had landed, I had just made an announcement to the comrade passengers. I announced that everyone was to remain in their places and that further information would be given later. Then I could hear shooting once again, and they started shouting: Say that we have already killed one of your stewardesses! I glanced out into the compartment. She was gone.

[Kurtkin] Negotiations with the criminals were conducted by Flight Engineer Innokentiy Dmitriyevich Tupakov:

[Tupakov] When I went into the second compartment, someone shouted: Stay where you are! Don't move! And two sawed-off shotguns were trained on me. So I stopped and said: Let's talk. Send someone through to me in here, since you will not allow anyone in to see you. And I sat down in my seat and turned my back on them ostentatiously, and that was all. Well, a fellow came in later—Vasiliy, as we found out afterwards; he was the chief one—and I realized that (?they were getting rather desperate). [end recording]

Paper Questions Handling

PM181041 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Mar 88 p 4

[Article by V. Gorchakov, V. Kislov, S. Razin, and G. Sapronov: "Where Are We Flying? Our Correspondents Given the Task of Investigating the Causes of the Tragedy on Board a TU-154"]

[Text] Irkutsk-Leningrad-Moscow—Every day brings more and more details about the tragedy which occurred 8 March on board a TU-154 flying the Irkutsk-Kurgan-Leningrad route.

When the apartment where the Ovechkin family—who tried to hijack the aircraft—lived was searched, obvious traces of the preparations for the crime were detected: bullets, explosives, wiring, gun barrels, special glue, timing mechanisms.... The preparations for the fatal flight were no secret to any member of the family—all eleven knew about it. It is now known that the older Ovechkins were obviously preparing for the crime with the aid of other people whose identities are being established at the moment by investigators.

The day before the family hurriedly sold off almost all their furniture—they said that the chance of a good apartment swap had presented itself. The brothers sold hi-fi equipment bought in the fall from Japan. It was precisely after that trip that they became unable to conceal in their speech their obvious sympathy with all things foreign.

They turned up at the airport 90 minutes before check-in. They waited until more than half the passengers had been checked and then went themselves. On 8 March passenger embarcation and hand luggage checks were being carried out by a shift led by Militia Captain K. Dzhikiy. Sergeant V. Makeyev, Junior Sergeant V. Zhurnist, and also G. Sergeyeva and I. Bogomolova, freight department controllers, were on duty at Gate 3.

The Ovechkins had nothing else apart from their hand luggage and instruments. They all handed in their tickets together. The militia workers saw no signs of nervousness or anything suspicious. They recognized them: "So these are our Ovechkins. Musicians. The family group." One of the older brothers even tried to put his double bass in the X-ray machine although it was obvious that it would not fit. Then Galina Ivanovna Sergeyeva, a customs service staffer, asked him to put the double bass on a table, unfastened the zipper, refastened it on seeing the instrument, and allowed them all to pass through into the departure lounge. That was the entire extent of the check.

Why are special control zone personnel so finnicky about a businessman's small penknife, yet sawn-off shotguns and explosives, which cost people their lives, go undetected? Is it because factors persist which undermine our confidence in guaranteed flight security?

Aeroflot instructions clearly specify what is to be considered outsize cargo and examined by hand. The inspection service's technical equipment at airports leaves a lot to be desired. Only three of the six departure gates at Irkutsk are fitted with "Luch-1m" x-ray machines. They only arrived last year. RI-61's, which have long since become obsolete, are still "on duty." Even the "Luch-1m" is not too good: It is inferior to its foreign counterparts in terms of the number of contrast gradations and its penetrative capability.

Our airport passenger check zones are badly laid out: tiny departure lounges, narrow passageways, and lack of space—so that there is sometimes nowhere for passengers and the customs service to sit down properly.

The work of the control service itself is also badly organized. Four men may work together but come from different departments: some from the airport service, others from the transport militia. The freight service's method of working in a team means that the service chief can remove a staffer who possesses complex skills several times a day to other sectors. In Irkutsk, according to Ye. Skuratov, department chief in the East Siberian Civil Aviation Directorate, this is happening all the time. Unified inspection groups have been set up by way of an experiment, admittedly, in Belorussia.

Another thing: Last October alone the minister of civil aviation decreed that information about aviation disasters and hijack attempts was no longer considered private data. The very term air crash was never heard in our country even among Aeroflot workers. The terminology was: serious aviation accident. A lack of glasnost acts as a brake on the improvement of this work.

...Tamara Zharkaya—this name became well known after the tragic events of 8 March.

Tamara Zharkaya, a 28-year old stewardess instructress, was sent on this flight to train Ira Vasilyevaya, who was to learn the intricacies of being chief stewardess. Toma only became an instructor in September, but she was already the darling of the crew. As a member of the service party bureau she managed to impress everyone by her energy, by some special joie de vivre, and a desire to see everything, experience everything, and feel everything.

Tamara learned of the danger looming over the aircraft's passengers and crew when she went down the forward cabin selling "furries"—souvenirs from Irkutsk. As she moved toward the flight deck, Irina stopped by her friend for a moment:

"Toma, these 'Simons' have given me a note. They're demanding that we fly to Britain."

"That's impossible. They're probably just playing a joke on us 'cos it's a holiday!"

"That's what I thought—let's have a look..."

In fact, the Ovechkin family were badly cut out to be bandits. Neatly dressed in Japanese jackets, stonewashed jeans, woollen scarfs, and impressive track shoes.

Pilot First Class V. Kupriyanov, crew commander, was skeptical about the "practical joke" story. His first instructions were clear and precise: As of now don't come onto the flight deck, maintain telephone communication, and, first, clarify how real the threat is and the "musicians'" specific demands.

The girls quickly realized that there was no question of its being a joke. When Toma and Ira appeared in the aft cabin, where the entire Ovechkin family had moved after the landing at Kurgan, they saw the barrels of two sawn-off shotguns pointing at them.

"Don't come near us together. One of you stay where you are!" the hysterical shout was heard.

From then on Tamara approached the bandits repeatedly. She calmly tried to persuade them that their demands to fly "all the way to London" were not practical: The fuel supply was only intended for a flight to a reserve airfield near Leningrad. She tried to do everything to play for time and convince the criminals that the crew was ready to comply with their terms.

At that time the aircraft was coming into land. The Ovechkins began to whistle and brandish their guns: "While we are refueling the pilots must come into the cabin and stand with their faces to the wall!" "One stewardess sit with us!"

"Hearing the last condition, Toma fell silent and as it were retired into her shell," Ira Vasilyeva recalled. "Like someone making up their mind to do something. I said to her: 'Let's both go with them.' But she suddenly said very quietly but firmly, as if she hadn't heard me: 'I'll try myself...I must...'"

Toma went aft to Row 31 and the muzzle of a sawn-off shotgun jabbed into her: "Stay here. Sit down!" The categorical nature of the order was confirmed by shots: Bullets whistled past Irina's face as she watched from behind the partition in the aircraft galley.

Now glancing stealthily at the end of the aft cabin ("Don't look or we'll shoot!"), Ira was only able to see Tamara's head peeping out from behind a seat as she continued to speak calmly to her executioners.

At that time the view from the portholes was increasingly unsettling the bandits. As if by chain reaction, one after the other they began to panic: "Look: Soldiers, vehicles!" "Get the bomb ready!" "Let's blow the plane up now!" There's another man lying over there behind the wheel!" "Get the soldiers away!" "I'm counting to three!"

Two shots rang out. One of the Ovechkin brothers went up to Irina and hissed:

"Tell the commander that we have already killed one stewardess! Get them all away from the aircraft, or else...."

...The passengers on the Irkutsk-Kurgan-Leningrad flight who were injured 8 March during the armed clash on board the TU-154 were promptly taken to the army hospital at Vyborg. Of 76 people, it was reported that 3 died and another 17 received serious injuries—gunshot wounds, major burns, and fractures.

"Dark, thick, acrid smoke was belching out, and shots were coming from all directions; we jumped onto the tarmac, some from open hatches, some from the wing of the plane," Ye.F. Konovalova recalled. She was flying to Leningrad to stay with her son, and now she is tied to a hospital bed...

As often happens, the selfless devotion of doctors is an enforced response to the perfidy and licence of others. All the injured were taken from the scene of the incident to hospital during the next hour and given urgent treatment within 3 hours. Wounds were dressed, plaster casts

applied, and blood transfusions given—32 operations! Dozens of voluntary donors came from the city, from military units, and even from the wards of the hospital itself. "You need blood: Take some of mine," people offered sincerely. At the same time army surgeons G. Zikeyev, V. Alafinov, A. Diveyev, V. Murzo, and V. Savik fought for the lives of the injured on five operating tables.

The operation on the most seriously wounded person, 26-year old Leningrad postgraduate student Igor Moyzel, went on through the night until 0400 hours. A bullet had hit the small of his back and carried on right through a lung.

"I don't want to die," he whispered as he was stretchered to an ambulance. Doctor Ye.V. Kochetova could barely feel the injured man's pulse. Igor had appeared at the open hatchway ahead of everyone in the pitch darkness. Icy cold air struck his face. Igor jumped down, showing the others the way to safety. He was one of the first on the ground. It seemed that the danger had passed. But at that moment a shot rang out. From where? He simply could not understand it.

Of course, the situation was extraordinary—darkness, a large gang, a blazing aircraft. But... Viktor Sabanin, an inhabitant of Irkutsk, suffered a blow to the face from some blunt object like a machinegun butt in the confusion and was taken to hospital as a result.

Yet there had in fact been plenty of time to prepare everything needed to carry out the rescue operation. According to schedule the aircraft should have arrived in Leningrad before nightfall, in the afternoon. It landed near the city at approximately 1600 hours. Stewardess Tamara Zharkaya tragically died at 1800 hours. "Commander, there's already one man on your conscience," the armed bandits said as they forced their way into the crew compartment. The rescue group began to act at approximately 1900 hours. An hour later the aircraft was blazing brightly....

At what cost was the TU-154 hijack stopped? The aircraft burned to ashes, nine dead, including five criminals, and 19 people wounded, including two of the rescue group, many of whom may remain invalids. Could such casualties have been avoided? Were other decisions possible in this situation? Let us hope that the investigation will answer these and many other questions also.

"The language of international documents calls aircraft hijacks," V. Ryzhenkov, executive secretary of the USSR Commission for ICAO [International Civil Aviation Organization] Affairs, said, "acts of illegal interference in the activity of civil aviation, and they are regarded worldwide as very serious criminal actions. The first points of the Hague (1970) and Montreal (1971) Conventions, involving more than 130 states, contain a list of such criminal actions. Britain is a member of the ICAO, and the international community has for many years adhered to the principle that no act of air terrorism or crime in the air must go unpunished wherever it may occur. That is, the British authorities would have had the alternative of either handing over the bandits to the Soviet Union or punishing them themselves. There were no other options.

Boris Anatolyevich Ryzhenkov, naturally, was not about to predict a British court verdict, but it is well known that British criminal law provides for life imprisonment for such crimes (incidentally, very many countries' legislation provides for this term of imprisonment, or even for the death penalty). So it turns out that the "Simons" would have been flying into the dock in any case....

The TU-154 never took off from the Leningrad airport. We already know how the tragedy ended. That is why we have a right to ask the question: Was not too high a price paid to keep the bandits on our territory at all costs? However, the answer to this question also lies within the competence of the court.

Let us wait...

Hijack Family's Background

PM171321 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 12 Mar 88 p 12

["Our own correspondent" V. Ivashkovskiy report: "'Child Prodigies' and Patrons; Postscript to Tragedy on Board TU-154"]

[Text] Irkutsk—They chose the brightest day of March for the crime—8 March. The TU-154 passenger aircraft, flying the Irkutsk-Kurgan-Leningrad route, took off. Soon a group of armed criminals made an attempt to hijack it to take it abroad.

Commissions are now at work and an investigation is being carried out. The USSR Prosecutor's Office has instituted criminal proceedings. It was not only the airport security that the criminals had to pass through: They lived among us, they were people of note, many organizations acted as their guardians.

This large family from Irkutsk was, so to speak, in the public eye. For several years the newspapers, radio, and television had been talking about the talented child musicians who had created the family dixieland jazz band "The Seven Simons." The young jazz musicians successfully performed at oblast shows which very soon became too small for the group. Or so, in any case, it seemed to the uncles and aunts from respectable oblast organizations who became the Ovechkin family's patrons. And they, of course, did not notice the "dark blemishes" on the brothers' "bright" faces: How could they—on stage they were child prodigies....

They were proud: Real talent is appearing not in the renowned conservatories, but here with us, in the "heartland," in a workers' suburb of Irkutsk. A peculiar commercial approach was shown to the talents of the Ovechkin clan—the group's performances, the patrons thought, provided particular moral dividends. Proving our own people can do it too, was how they saw it... Perfectly serious and responsible people seriously suggested that the Ovechkins' appearance on stage raised the prestige of the oblast, its public organizations, and cultural organs. Gaps in cultural building were sometimes patched with magnificent festivals and concerts after report meetings, at which the family dixieland jazz band was usually the final highlight.... For greater effect.

And there were no bounds to the publicity. The East Siberian Documentary Movie Studio quickly shot and circulated a documentary film which is pervaded by, or, rather, even seeks to instil in viewers the idea that the Ovichkins had a special spirituality. True, only a simple lifestyle, rehearsals and... the sympathy of the director and cameramen are reflected in the documentary film.

The Ovechkins developed, "progressed." The older brothers quickly realized that a considerable income could be drawn from the unexpected popularity that had come their way. The attention shown to the large family by the oblast and city organizations was understood by the clan as a fee for tours in Moscow, Kuzbass, and other cities and villages. Concern for creative work took a back seat—as long as they could grab as many material benefits as possible before the young ones grew up. After all, when the children grew up it would be an ordinary collective arousing no emotion. It would be a family collective, but without child prodigies.

Places were found for the young musicians at the Irkutsk Arts College. Then they went to the Gnesin Institute. Then they were offered an experienced leader. They were allocated two adjacent three-room apartments, and the family had in its possession a private house in the suburbs (for rehearsals and an auxiliary farm).... The family had no friends, only patrons. There is no need to list here names and positions, the degree of responsibility—this needs to be sorted out without haste. But nobody noticed the growing greed of the older prodigies.

The following story indicating their attitude to art is typical. For a long time they dreamed of opening a cooperative cafe: The brothers would attract people with their music, their mother and sisters would be the cook and waitresses. Their private "business" went bust, and then the patrons set up the older brothers in the city parks association, and the younger ones combined paid "creative activity" with studies in first and sixth grades of secondary school....

They were done a disservice by their trip to Japan, when the state authorities preferred the amateur group to professional masters of the art. In this case too they were directly counting on sensation and the desire to amaze the whole wide world. The musicians returned from tour completely convinced that it was only abroad that their talents were properly valued. It was evidently at this time that the thought of a "capitalist country" as the flight's final stop arose.

In the early days of March the dixieland jazz band had to perform in a musical program in the Palace of Sport. But the day before the Ovechkins were busy selling their instruments and possessions. They did not appear at the concert, pleading the illness of one of the brothers. But almost the entire family arrived together at the TU-154 gangway: They informed the pleased airport workers, who recognized the child prodigies, that they were going on tour. Their mother was their "artistic director"....

... Now that the "artistic director" is dead, we recall the patrons and protectors who had overlooked the terrible disease of greed and spiritual aridity.

Krasnovodsk 18 Jan Plane Crash Described

PM171335 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 88 Second Edition p 6

[Unattributed report under the headline "At the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Flight Safety of Civil Aviation [Gosavianadzor]"

[Text] As already reported, on 18 January an accident occurred as a TU-154B plane of the Turkmenia Civil Aviation Directorate was coming in to land at Krasnovodsk airport. What happened was investigated by a Gosavianadzor commission with the participation of specialists of the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation, the USSR Ministry of the Aviation Industry, and scientific research and design organizations.

The commission has established:

The Ashkhabad aviation enterprise plane No 85254, piloted by a crew consisting of the commander (Churayev), second pilot (Yegorov), navigator (Radulov) and engineer (Khripunov) was covering the Moscow-Krasnovodsk-Ashkhabad run No 699. There were 137 passengers on board and the flight was in night-time conditions. The engines and all the aircraft's systems and units were operating without deviation. Meteorological conditions along the route and at the airport were normal. Krasnovodsk airport is equipped with all the necessary facilities to receive aircraft under nighttime conditions, but it has special features which demand the crew's higher skills and heightened attention on landing.

On the approach to the airport, Commander Churayev, violating regulations, allowed second pilot Yegorov to perform the landing approach and actual landing, although he was not sufficiently trained for independent performance of this complex element of a flight at the said airport. In the final stage of the landing approach, having passed the 50 meters altitude, the second pilot committed piloting errors that led to a steeper descent by

the plane with an increase of the vertical speed beyond the permissible level. The commander neglected to supervise his actions and was too late taking control. As a result of which the plane came down at a high vertical speed and broke apart under G-forces in excess of the design limits. Eleven passengers died in the disaster and 16 people were injured and taken to hospital.

The commission has established all the facts that led to the plane accident. In addition, substantial deficiencies were revealed during checks of the Ashkhabad aviation enterprise that had a certain influence on the outcome of the flight. The State Aviation Inspectorate has worked out specific proposals and recommendations to preclude such an accident in the future, based on the results of the investigation. Many of them already began to be implemented during the investigation process. Their introduction is being monitored. Criminal proceedings have been instituted by the republic's procuracy on this case.

Letter Scores State of Intraparty Democracy

PM151543 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Mar 88 Second Edition p 2

[Roundup of readers' letters under the rubric "Land of the Soviets": "On Internal Party Democracy. From the Discussion Mailbag: Addressed to the 19th All-Union Party Conference"]

[Excerpt] Letters arriving in the editorial office contain more and more thoughts and suggestions addressed to the 19th all-union party conference. A particularly large number is on the development of internal party democracy. We publish some letters from this mailbag.

Whom Do We Nominate and How? [subhead]

"In the absolutely correct guiding principle of the party's organizational structure—democratic centralism—emphasis is very frequently placed in practice on 'centralism,' while its democratic essence is neglected. Hence the widespread edict style of leadership, restricting the right to independently determine the composition of party committees and autonomously resolve local questions, petty tutelage, and the associated reduction in the activeness and initiative of primary organizations. Frequently Communists are simply deprived of the possibility of freely choosing members of bureaus and party committees because their composition has been prepared in advance and agreed with 'the top.' The influence of ordinary Communists on the choice of bureau and committee secretaries is reduced to naught.

"The procedure for nominating candidate members of rayon, oblast, and kray leading party organs also needs improving. Their composition is now formed in practice by the reelected committee without proper regard for the opinion of primary organizations. Perhaps we ought to establish a procedure whereby candidates for a future committee are nominated by large party organizations and group meetings of Communist members of smaller organizations.

"The lack of systematic renewal of the composition of party organs does not help to develop internal party democracy. For many members of central committees, obkoms, kraykoms, and raykoms, membership has become a kind of privilege for life. Among the Central Committee members elected at the 27th congress, for example, 195 people, or 64 percent, have been on this supreme organ for two, three, or more convocations. Ministers, department leaders, and committee department chiefs rarely miss out on the honor of being elected to the Central Committee, the Auditing Commission or to a party obkom or kraykom. For many committee members, at various levels, being on them becomes a supplement to a high official position, to the title of Hero of Socialist Labor, laureate, academician, or People's Artist, while the duties amount just to attending plenums. At the same time, an aura of infallibility is created around them, and they have strong protection against criticism from below.

"The fact that party committee leaders are not replaced for many years leads to the result that some of them become surrounded by personally devoted staffers who are prepared obediently to carry out any of the 'chief's' instructions; they lose the ability to perceive shortcomings keenly, become accustomed to them, lose touch with the masses, acquire features of leaderism, and become simply inaccessible to control from below.

"L. Korbut, Moscow City." [passage omitted]

Readers Question Party Leadership Structures

PM161055 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Mar 88 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed readers' letters feature: "Written With the Forthcoming All-Union Party Conference in Mind. The Living Science of Democracy"—boldface as published]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Let Us Consult Lenin [subhead]

I am taking the liberty, following V. Yegorov's article "The Living Science of Democracy" (7 February 1988), of developing some of his ideas in response to the editorial office's invitation to discuss them on the eve of the 19th all-union party conference.

First. In my view, the excessively inflated staff structures of gorkoms, obkoms, and kraykoms are the cause of the chronic officialdom-bureaucratic diseases from which these party committees suffer. The huge apparatus is engaged on incessantly compiling all sorts of instructions and verbose but superficial resolutions, and collecting abundant local information which does not reflect the

real state of affairs. It is, after all, absurd to see an obkom, gorkom, or raykom instructor visiting the enterprise (rather than the collective) for no other purpose than to collect some figures from the planning department so as to compile a report for the next bureau session.

As a rule, full-time senior officials from the party committee have no idea of the moral climate in labor collectives and are unable and unwilling to come in contact with Communists working in production. Don't let us even mention contacts with the mass of nonparty members.

This is why there is an urgent need to sharply cut back the apparatus of raykoms, gorkoms, and obkoms by at least 60 percent.

Second. On elections to party bureaus. While elections to primary party organization committees (bureaus) are relatively democratic, one can speak of democracy at raykom, gorkom, and higher levels only by stretching the point. The point is that raykom, gorkom, obkom, and kraykom members are elected by delegates. This seems undemocratic to me. The time has now come—and this is said by rank-and-file Communists—for elections to these party committees to be held according to the principles of elections to local soviets of people's deputies. Communists want to participate personally—the entire 100 percent of them—in the election and formation of party committees. Nothing terrible would happen if there were 2-3 candidates for every vacant position.

Third. The time has probably come to give some thought to the question of how the party's central leadership organs should be formed. It is perhaps not very democratic when the majority of Central Committee members are ministers, obkom and kraykom secretaries, and other leaders, with workers and kolkhoz members in the minority. Maybe the statute should lay down certain proportions in terms of social structure and the various categories of party members. Let us recall V.I. Lenin's advice on how to shape the Central Committee membership.

It would obviously be useful if the statute set a limit on how long someone could remain in elected full-time office—no more than two terms, for example!

And something else: Is it all that necessary for Central Committee members to be inevitably elected also USSR Supreme Soviet deputies, or for raykom, gorkom, obkom, and kraykom members to be elected also deputies to the respective rayon, city, oblast, or kray soviets? There is something excessive when one and the same official sits on all elected organs.

Communists now display, more than ever before, a sense of personal responsibility for restructuring, a sense of involvement in all questions of socialist life. The party can bring all this energy into action. The convening of the conference is a major step in this direction.

V. Golobokov, CPSU member and deputy chairman of the US-108 Integrated Trade Union Committee, Zeya, Amur Oblast

Working Functions for the Presidium [subhead]

According to current practice, a gorkom (raykom) bureau is made up of quite a few staffers of the party organ's apparatus—all the secretaries, the chiefs of main departments. It must also be borne in mind that gorispolkom and rayispolkom chairmen and chairmen of people's control committees (to a certain extent dependent on the gorkom or raykom leadership) are also members of the bureau. Add to this the fact that sessions at all plenums are chaired by a presidium consisting of almost all bureau members. Not many people would dare go against such a presidium or the decisions it suggests.

This is why I believe that no more than five gorkom members should be elected to the working presidium. A businesslike presidium means businesslike work at the plenum and businesslike decisions. Then we must no longer see that same old picture: The plenum being conducted, as a rule, by the secretaries while the other bureau members sit like dummies and have no idea what to do apart from lending their honorary presence to the presidium. In short, I am profoundly convinced that intraparty democracy is also needed in such important party work as gorkom and raykom plenums.

Respectfully,

V. Kiselev, candidate member of the Tikhoretsk CPSU Gorkom, Krasnodar Kray [passage omitted]

A Word About "Appointees" [subhead]

Radio, television, or the press announce: A (obkom, kraykom, or gorkom) plenum was held. The plenum examined an organizational question. The plenum relieved Comrade (surname, first name, patronymic) of his duties as, for example, first secretary, in connection with transfer to other work (one can understand retirement on pension). The plenum elected (appointed) as first secretary Comrade (surname, first name, patronymic), previously holding the position (office, and so on). The plenum was addressed by.... And that is all.

What scant information, what are party members in the oblast, kray, or city to glean from it? Why did the plenum "relieve", and to what work was the one relieved "transferred"? Is he familiar with that work, where was he "transferred," is he capable of doing that job? And what sort of person is the one who was newly elected? What

has he achieved as party or economic figure? How does he merit the trust and honor of being, for example, first secretary in a rayon, city, or oblast? The overwhelming majority of CPSU members know absolutely nothing about him.

We are given much more information about foreign statesmen and politicians visiting the Soviet Union. Newspapers carry photographs, biographical details like where and when he was born, where he studied, what office he held and when, what office he holds now.... What about our own people—is there nothing to be said about them?

V. Borisov, CPSU member, Krasnodar [passage omitted]

Yagodin Discusses Education's 'Single' Policy

LD160927 Moscow TASS in English 0630 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 15 TASS—The task of the newly-set up Soviet state Committee for Public Education is to pursue the single policy in the field of instruction and upbringing of the younger generation, Gennadiy Yagodin, the committee's chairman, told TASS. He was appointed to the post last week.

Yagodin started his career from teaching at institutions of higher learning. For 12 years he was rector of the Moscow Chemical-Technological Institute and was appointed minister of higher and specialized seondary education of the USSR in 1985.

According to Yagodin, the need for fundamental changes in the whole system of secondary and higher education arose in the Soviet Union long ago.

"Unfortunately, " Yagodin went on to say, "at present knowledge is becoming obsolete quicker than technology. Only very well-educated and skilled specialists who are always in the process of learning and are quick in being retrained can meet the requirements of the day."

Definite difficulties in Soviet education are connected with traditions formed in Soviet pedagogical science and the system of management at the Soviet school. Yagodin said it was necessary to expand pedagocial councils by making parents and senior pupils their members.

Yagodin paid special attention to creative independence of a teacher. "What we need is pedagogics marked by the originality of the teacher's personality, rather than authoritarian pedagogics".

Touching upon the programme of upgrading the education system in the Soviet Union, Yagodin singled out its priority direction towards broad democratisation. He assessed positivley the recently introduced practice of electing rectors of higher educational establishments with the involvement of professors and students.

Yagodin noted that young people put on scientific councils had started to participate in electing professors and solving questions related to studies and scientific work.

Speeches Given at 1-2 Mar Writers' Union Plenum

Karpov on Nationalism

PM151201 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Mar 88 pp 2-3

[Unattributed account of report by USSR Writers Union Board First Secretary V.V. Karpov at the USSR Writers Union Board plenum held on 1-2 March: "Improvement of National Relations, Restructuring and the Tasks of Soviet Literature"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted comprising parts one and two of report] III [subhead]

At the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum M.S. Gorbachev said: "A unique feature of our culture is its multinational nature. We talk about it often, habitually, but it appears that we have not yet learned to appreciate it fully... It is the basis of our fraternity and kinship, which have stood the sternest tests... We must do all we can to contribute to further widening contacts between national cultures, their mutual enrichment, and their rise and prosperity."

Mikhail Sergeyevich's words are a further confirmation of the timely and essential nature of our discussion today.

Especially as, while noting our multinational wealth that belongs to the whole people, the general secretary warned against any manifestation of nationalism and chauvinism. I believe we have every reason to be concerned, to uncover and get rid of certain unhealthy aspects of writers' organizations.

Soviet patriotism is one of our revolution's supreme gains, our supreme asset. It decidedly rules out any manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism. Nationalism, no matter what disguise it wears, is essentially blind. The advocates of national self-isolation and the adherents of national egoism are bound to find themselves in a spiritual impasse.

We know very well that nationalist outbursts, excesses and demonstrations, and the ballyhoo over them are often inspired directly or indirectly by certain anti-Soviet forces in the West.

One must not forget the outside support for nationalists, but let us be clear: One factor in the growth of various nationalist attitudes was our fear of addressing the real, acute problems that lay behind the shiny facade of words. That is why conditions were created where the "national idea," "purged" of social and socialist content, and its interpretation as a paramount priority began to

operate as a phenomenon that diverted people from the truth, particularly people with inadequate ideological training, and their numbers increased during the stagnation years.

Society cannot allow national cultures to develop of their own accord, it cannot permit phenomena incompatible with our ideology and morals. It must be said right away that writers' publications have also appeared on national and international issues which have been guilty of straying from Marxist-Leninist methodology. Some writers have churned out well-known formulas and phrases without linking them to the life going on around them. Anyway, until recently, it was considered "not done" to write with journalistic acuity, directness, and thoroughness about what heralded the nationalist excesses. "Not done," or not permissible even to talk about it, because someone had decided for everyone: That harms the friendship of the peoples.

The nationalities policy at the present stage is a complex issue that requires careful study in all its aspects, both theoretical and practical. Hasty conclusions and ill-considered actions could cause irreparable damage. The situation in the regions which have been a source of concern to us all is by and large returning to normal. And our writers have contributed to this by displaying political maturity and an understanding of the essential nature of genuine internationalism and by condemning manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism and attempts at self-isolation.

We must never forget that it was the USSR that for the first time in history united peoples in a socialist state in accordance with the principles of internationalism and friendship of the peoples. The chief role in accomplishing this supreme historic victory was played by the Communist Party, which formulated theoretically and implemented in practice this concept, which is a progressive one in the development of human society.

The community of Soviet peoples experienced difficult ordeals and gained magnificant achievements in peaceful labor and brilliant victories during the war. Each republic in the Soviet Union traveled a rapid path of economic and cultural development and some of them made the transition from feudalism to socialism in a short time. Each republic's development depended and depends on the development and successes of all the fraternal republics.

Our friends in the West support us and rejoice at our successes in revolutionary transformations. But it is no secret that there are hostile people in the West who very much do not want us to implement the planned restructuring tasks. One of the main areas of their unseemly activity is an attempt to split the friendship of our peoples, inflame nationalist passions, and thus divert Soviet people's efforts from the solution of the economic and social problems of restructuring.

In present conditions nationalism is one of the chief dangers to the practical implementation of restructuring.

You all know about the events of recent days in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. Yesterday at the Writers' Union I met with the plenum participants from Azerbaijan and Armenia. What was said was that the present situation demands a sober and balanced approached, a thorough understanding of the history of national-state development and established socioeconomic and cultural links, and a consideration of the vital interests of the working people of the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's and of the country as a whole. Hasty conclusions and statements will only harm inter-nation relations and the entire business of restructuring and democratization of our society.

M.S. Gorbachev's Appeal to the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples should help resolve the conflict that has arisen—it is the voice of the party, the voice of reason, the voice of all the Soviet republics worried by what has happened.

Now I want to touch on the problem of bilingualism. In our multinational country Russian is essential as a lingua franca, as a means of all-union communication between nations, and it is not that the Russian people have any special qualities or the Russian language any special structural features, but it is a matter of historical reality. Life has shown that it is necessary to study two languages: your native language and, as a medium of communication, Russian. Everyone needs his native language, even the smallest people.

At the February plenum it was said constant attention should be paid to the development of national-Russian bilingualism. We teach here in 39 languages of the USSR peoples. Concern for the native language and for its development and interaction with Russian is a natural phenomenon. Each language is an integral part of our common wealth. In the matter of language no privileges or restrictions, let alone coercion, are permissible. To deny parents the voluntary choice of language for the instruction of their children would be a violation of democratic principles in the nationalities question. Nor must the legitimate love of one's native language be allowed to develop into linguistic chauvinism. It is also necessary to give members of other nationalities permanently resident in a particular republic every encouragement to study the local national language. One should remember more often Lenin's behest that the cause of internationalism and the fraternity of the peoples are better served by the practice of teaching in Russian and native languages in the same school, not in different schools. The joint education of children of different nationalities in children's preschool institutions is also a considerable contribution to this.

This is the clear programmatic party position for all republics, oblasts, krays, and regions and for all Soviet national cultures, arising out of common interests—

bilingualism! The position of writers and writers' organizations is basically the same. Which was demonstrated by the documents of our eighth congress and postcongress plenums and stated in the vast majority of writers' speeches at creative conferences.

All is clear, it may seem; but there is still anxiety about the future of national languages as a means of multifaceted day-to-day communication and as a medium for expressing and embodying national artistic culture.

The anxiety persists because there is a gulf between theory, principle, and stance and day-to-day reality. It should be eliminated through an extensive, well thought-out system of measures.

A great deal is being done in Latvia and Kazakhstan to really ensure the bilingualism that everyone needs. One might cite other positive examples.

I have attended two writers' plenums which have discussed bilingualism issues—in the Ukraine and Belorussia. I must be frank and say that the debate was so impassioned that it sometimes took the breath away, as they say. There were both hotheads and those in favor of a crackdown. When these questions are not left to take care of themselves, but are well prepared, people will always arrive at a correct solution. In Belorussia, for example, I talked with Ye.Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee, who regarded writers' opinions with great respect and confidence. He said: Writers have a better understanding of matters of language, so let them argue and analyze and don't interfere. And they argued, they analyzed! And they found the right way out, which was also supported by the republic's Communist Party Central Committee.

Of course, there may be a long way to go yet before matters fundamentally improve, but the main thing is that there has been movement.

In the Ukraine they had their own way of going about things. There CPSU Central Committee Politburo Member V.V. Shcherbitskiy and Ukrainian Communist Party Secretary Yu.N. Yelchenko paid a very great deal of attention to preparing for the plenum and invited scholars, party workers, ministers, and writers themselves who were competent in this matter to address the plenum. And the plenum discussion not only immediately acquired the passion of a debate, but moved in the direction of a joint quest for the best solutions to problems. I will cite just one sentence. When they debated the content of and the number of hours in the program on literature, Education Minister M.V. Fomenko said: "Why don't you draw up the literature program yourselves, or help in its compilation." The writers agreed.

In short, it was a businesslike presentation of the question—a good example of the way to tackle such issues in other republics as well.

Unfortunately, there are a great many examples of a different kind—disregard for languages, inertia in the matter of rectifying great and long neglect of the teaching of native languages and Russian in the republics. Restrictions on the use of native languages have not vanished either in word or in deed. In some cases indigenous languages are pushed out of lectures and seminars, even those on the humanities.

Take earlier forms of teaching. "We believe," O. Gonchar said, "that the native language should be studied in all the republic's schools on a par with Russian. Even in kindergartens." He is referring to schools and kindergartens where Russian is used in study and everyday life. I am convinced O. Gonchar is right. Yet, in Kirghizia, this obvious idea apparently has to be demonstrated. Who attempted to demonstrate it? Ch. Aytmatov. And to whom was he demonstrating that Kirghiz city boys and girls must learn Russian and their native Kirghiz in kindergartens? Oddly enough, it was to the elder statesman of Kirghiz literature, A. Tokombayev.

In Latvia, for example, this work—the study of Russian in schools where Latvian is the medium of instruction and Latvian in schools where Russian is the medium of instruction—is properly organized, on the basis of an extensive program worked out under the leadership of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Commission for Inter-Nation Relations.

There is a growing number of writers who, while being non-Russian by birth and, most important, consciously non-Russian, write either exclusively in Russian or in Russian as well as in the language of their people. Who are these writers? Let us give a clear answer: In our view the vast majority are children of the culture and literature of the "indigenous" nationality.

We have before us an interesting phenomenon. It is by no means a synonym of internationalization, let alone in the sense of Russification. A phenomenon that can be explained biographically as the legal freedom to choose the language of communication and creation! But the main thing is that this phenomenon exists not in spite of literary creativity in the "indigenous language." Indeed, how many striking talents there are among bilingual or Russian-speaking writers! In Azerbaijani prose, for example, you have Ch. Guseynov, Anar, and R. and M. Ibragimbekov.... Shall I go on? Ch. Aytmatov, V. Bykov, I. Drutse, A. Adamovich, T. Pulatov, A. Ebanoidze, O. Suleymenov, R. Farkhadi, Yu. Shestalov, V. Sangi. A national literature that heeds the "implacable" subjectivity of those who have the audacity to "excommunicate" these writers from their national literature loses out badly. It is dangerous to lay down the law on the national character according to one's own tastes. In Belorussia, for example, not long ago an attempt was made in an article by V. Akudovich to divide the work of V. Bykov into a first, either non-national or purely Russian, period and a second period when he had achieved the sought-after "Belorussianness" and, with

"Sign of Trouble," a genuine national character had, apparently, entered into his work. In my view the attempt was obviously artificial and futile.

It is very characteristic and indicative that it isCh. Aytmatov. V. Bykov, I. Drutse, and other writers writing in Russian who consistently defend the future of national cultures, national languages, and literature in those languages.

We must scrutinize more closely the new phenomena of the multifaceted existence of inter-nation literary relations.... For example, Russian writers in the republic (not just using Russian, but actual Russians). Who are they? Undoubtedly they are part of modern Russian literature, and one need not even mention that, but nor should we forget such masters as S. Borodin, I. Shukhov, and N. Ushakov. The place of residence and the place in the national literature do not always coincide. But let us also bear in mind that these writers do not simply live in the republic, but have their own creative roots in its life, its problems and history and sometimes have a very good knowledge of the language. I will name just M. Zverev, L. Vysheslavskiy, M. Simashko, I. Shchegolikhin, G. Kanovich, O. Sidelnikov, V. Rybin, L. Romanenko, S. Yevseyev, N. Savostin, S. Tokombayev, V. Shapovalov.... That is, a special Russian-national literature is arising, one that is "indigenous" to the republic. There is an enrichment, a kind of dual interpretation of life, and both sides are actually feeling the creative benefit of this phenomenon.

Who is supposed both to observe and to check on how the actual implementation of bilingualism is progressing? I believe it is a matter for the community. In particular the writing community, the literary press.

It is proper to point out again that the time of emotions, the time of assurances and hand-waving is passing and it is time for constructive work and actual, not just verbal, restructuring. It is clear what has to be done and what path to follow. But there is little analysis in the literary press of today's actual experience, of what is being done where (or not being done, alas) to implement important Communist Party Central Committee resolutions in many republics adopted a year and more ago. Emotions predominate.

The party and state must be helped—helped by means of the acquisition of experience and the truth, by means of the day-to-day analysis of the pluses and minuses in this major undertaking. I believe our plenum will be of use on this score.

Allow me to finish this section with some personal observations. Children in their unspoilt purity and openness take their first public steps in kindergartens, choose friends, and play with their contemporarioes irrespective of their nationality. To them it is simply immaterial, they do not know who is Uzbek, Jewish, Armenian, or Russian. This comes to them later from parents or teachers. I noticed an amazing phenomenon: Frontline soldiers, taking, because of the combat situation, what may be the last steps in their lives, do not discriminate either on national grounds; like children, they do not think who is marching into the attack with them or sleeping alongside them in a cold foxhole, each keeping the other warm—Kazakh, Latvian, or Moldavian. We encounter this splendid quality of absolute purity and trust when entering and leaving life. And how difficult it appears to be to carry through life nature's gift of purity in human relations!

As we accumulate knowledge and experience, we not only acquire but also lose something. Some people have vices, including, unfortunately, nationalist ones, like other people have influenza, scarlet fever, or smallpox, and it is really awful if the disease develops into an epidemic.

It is a social, moral, and ecological catastrophe for people who are politically illiterate. But nationalism is simply incompatible with such a subtle, intellectual profession as that of writer. Could a spiritually blind person skulking up a blind alley become a writer?

I would very much like to cite at this point a graphic example from a dialogue-style article by F. Iskander and N. Samvelyan, published in LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA 19 February 1988. It is obligatory reading. I would call the dialogue friendly and warm not only in the sense of its being a conversation between two writers, but also in relation to what we are discussing at our plenum today. Here, in part, is what F. Iskander said:

"Let us descend from the heights of the national to the depths of nationalism. Once I made an incredible discovery. I was in central Asia, I will not name the republic so they don't figure out who the person I am talking about is. That is not the point. Anyway, this Russian-speaking writer of the local nationality complained to me that Russian culture is eroding the national features of the local culture, forcing local writers to develop forms alien to their own traditions and undermining independent development. He was spirited enough, but not convincing enough....

"But that was not the main thing. The main thing was that the person who was defending the independent development of a native culture did not actually know the native language and any judgment he made about all of it was at best second-hand. Thus, he criticized Russian literary culture for allegedly eroding the vital properties of the local culture, but he could only voice this criticism in Russian. A unique case, is it not? Nationalism without a national language. I maintain that nationalism could do without a nation altogether. The nation is just a screen."

Further on Iskander supplies the following quotation: "...For the ideologists of nationalism it is always the way to make good." A very curious observation.

IV [subhead]

There has been a general upsurge of interest in history, or, rather, historical truth.

In our writers' milieu, in all the republics, we have tackled primarily our own literary history. In my review of the unions' creative life today at the beginning of the report I cited the examples of many writers who have returned to the fold of literary life after having been rejected by our culture as a result of subjective and voluntarist decisions.

Justice and glasnost are doing good work. Our literature is acquiring breadth and depth both through the rehabilitation of works that were unlawfully withdrawn and through new works. It is a big venture that is restoring justice and enriching our literature. I was going to say and I will say—a useful undertaking; but a proviso is necessary: This rehabilitation would be even more useful if our literary scholars and critics would provide objective, competent commentaries to accompany all the rehabilitated works and people.

We all need a dialectical conception of history. This conception eschews a one-sided interpretation of the past, it eschews idealization and overemphasis on individual aspects of the past.

Sometimes we encounter in our press subjectivist, one-sided assessments of our past, including our literary past, and attempts to revise the scale of our spiritual values.

In his report at the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum Ye.K. Ligachev said: "Some people are arbitrarily trying to portray our path as a series of errors and crimes and ignore the great gains of the past and the present. Ranting and raving about the historical legacy of the Soviet era, they even go so far as to claim that we have built the wrong socialism, and they call the Soviet people servile and pretend to judge the giants of Soviet culture. And all this is done in the guise of glasnost."

There have been many faults of this nature, clearly, and therefore many Central Committee plenum participants voiced fears about the predominantly "negative" treatment of the past. In my view this question should considerably sharpen the writer's sense of responsibility. The people and the party treat us with great respect and trust. But, you see, exaggeration of the negative aspect, a distortion that is incompatible with objectivity, gives rise to a question that is not very nice for us. Yes, dear friends, if someone has been given a lot, a lot is expected of him. Trust was placed in us, so always try to deserve it.

It was noted at the February plenum that everyone has the opportunity to independently interpret reality. And critically evaluate it as well.

On more than one occasion already the Central Committee has disagreed with those who believe that we have opened the doors too wide to criticism. In fact, it was said at the plenum, on the contrary, there is perhaps still a shortage of profound, analytical criticism.

We are urged to write the whole truth, however bitter, but to write without debasement and without embellishment about the tragedies and glorious deeds which have, of course, occurred in our history.

The party is greatly interested in and sympathetic toward our work as writers. Here is what M.S. Gorbachev said in this connection: "Frankly speaking, comrades, we are still rather sparing and sometimes more than modest in our assessments of the results of the great activities of our large army of propagandists, lecturers, and ideological workers. But it is through their words that the ideas of the party the ideas of the renewal of society are winning people's hearts and souls."

I believe that those who consider themselves propagandists and ideological workers have a right to see these words as applying to them. I make this reservation because there have appeared among us colleagues who shun the notion of involvement in ideological, let alone propaganda, work. It was said that, among the other media, "artistic journals have done and are doing a great deal to create a new atmosphere, to emancipate minds, to arouse an interest in all aspects of restructuring and the accumulation of a variety of opinions."

This applies also to our republican literary press organs.

But those who are already straightening up and puffing out their chests, seeing these lofty words as praise for their work, should not be under any illusion, because there were for you and for all of us remarks which which must be thought about and worked on. M.S. Gorbachev put it as follows: "The media sometimes lack the ability to demonstrate the full complexity and novelty of the tasks being tackled by the party and people. There are continual hiccups in journals and newspapers—they cannot resist the lure of a sensation, there are superficial assessments of present and past events, one sees elements of cliquishness. Although there has been an increase in the number of items on the experience of restructuring in labor collectives, cities and rayons, oblasts and republics, and in the center, there is clearly not enough of them. Of course, the process is a complex one, it is making difficult progress and it is a task of exploration. But we will resolutely and firmly promote the cause of restructuring, analyzing its problems and positive results. This is what media attention should be focused on."

At the plenum many participants from the republics expressed bewilderment in connection with the fact that the positive hero has completely vanished from our literature. If people do not like this term let them invent another, but the nature of the positive example, a person

whom young people want to imitate and older people can recommend in their "edifying talks"—it is generally agreed that such a hero is necessary. Zoya Ivanovna Borovikova, a party raykom secretary from Krasnodar Kray related a curious incident. Seniors at a school were asked the question: Whose example do you follow? Answers: Peter the Great, Ostap Bender, and they also named hockey and soccer players. That is the senior pupils' level, their yardstick. But isn't the range of their dreams rather narrow? This wise woman said something else: I am not only a party worker, but a mother; when we were growing up we had Pavka Korchagin and other heroes. I am not against the truth and negative matters, but one must not deafen people with them, providing such an undiluted quantity without anything to contrast them with. I am also reminded of something said by AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev that set me thinking: Millions of schoolchildren and vocational and technical college students every year, during vacation, fail to obtain passes to Pioneer camps, and where do they stay? On the streets, in the yards. And since the parents are at work—whose influence do the children fall under? This is happening in all our country's cities.

Just think how passionately we defend nature—forests, rivers, historical monuments. We are doing the right thing—the whole people approve of it! But what about human ecology—there are millions of children around but we do not see them, we do not know them. The libraries are empty and we do not organize any literary circles, clubs, or other forms of writers' activity. Then we are surprised when young people know little about us contemporary writers. We add up the hours in the school program and it is a painful process—it is all classic authors. Yet all around us, here, where we lie, kids spend months hanging around in yards, doing nothing. It is hair-raising to hear the figures on juvenile crime, drug addiction, and other vices. And we are surprised: How can it be—they have everything, they are well fed, shod, and clothed. The reason is that we are not giving them enough for their souls—for example, for those millions during the 2-3 summer months—and that is why we are getting kids whose minds are barely formed and whose needs in life are one-dimensional.

V [subhead]

The expansion of democracy in literary life and among writers is just, it is the demand of the times and of restructuring. Of course, this expansion has been interpreted in various ways and in some cases it has been taken to extremes. For example, some comrades even suggested that the Writers Union be eliminated, closed down, because there was no need for it as an organization. It has become fashionable to toss out irresponsible proposals for effect and, perhaps, to appear an active restructurer.

Thousands of writers, headed by A.M. Gorkiy, at first dreamed of and then put a great deal of effort into creating the Writers Union. For many years the union has united us in public matters, set up publishing houses, journals, and newspapers, built creative centers, clinics, apartments, expanded and strengthened our domestic and international links, and so forth. There have been and there are many shortcomings in the union's work and much needs to be rectified, improved, and restructured—of that there is no question. Criticism of any secretary, of the entire secretariat or union apparatus as a whole is necessary and right. But to go so far as to eliminate the union, the creation of several generations of writers—I hope those who are fond of making extremist pronouncements will forgive me, but I have to reply to them, particularly as they said it publicly.

It seems to me that they should remember V.I.Lenin's words:

"...No doubt some intellectual, some ardent supporter of freedom, will start shouting. What! You want to subjugate such a delicate, individual matter as literary creativity to collectivity!... You deny the absolute freedom of absolutely individual ideological creativity! Calm down, gentlemen! First, we are talking about party literature and its subjugation to party control. Everyone is free to write and say anything he likes, without the slightest restrictions. But every free union (including the party) is also free to expel members who use the party's stamp to preach antiparty views. Freedom of speech and of the press must be total. But the freedom of unions must also be total."

Lenin goes on to say that a union will disintegrate unless it rids itself of those who do not share the party's views. And how do you determine whether people's views are or are not appropriate? Very simple—there is the Writers Union statute adopted by the congress.

With these words I run a great risk of bringing down on my head shrill protests from those I am talking about, protests as shrill as their speeches. But it is my duty: You elected me secretary so that I would defend and uphold the unity, purity, and honor of our union—that, and only that, is what I am concerned with in this instance.

I will not conclude my report with slogans or appeals. This traditional form, in our day, is in itself reminiscent of the recent past, when these slogans and appeals occurred beyond all measure, where they were appropriate and where they were not.

I will merely sum up with the following generalization.

On the whole the mood in the Writers Union is, it seems to us, in keeping with the spirit of the time and the changes taking place, and that means the mood is active, committed, filled with the desire to improve our self-management, to extend and improve the organization of book publishing, to normalize criticism and relationships among writers, to get rid of factionalism, to overcome nationalist manifestations where they spring up, to achieve full glasnost, to restore and bring back to our

literature everyone who is worthy of it and who was driven out for subjective reasons, to fill in the "blanks" in our literature and history, and not only in black ink, but in the diversity of color that the events and people filling these empty spaces objectively deserve; and many other problems which I hope you will touch on in your speeches.

But now, as they say in Central Asia, "ok yol," which, depending on the skill and taste of the translater, can be translated: "bon voyage" or "a good journey to you." I want to wish a good and successful journey to us all in the work of our plenum, in life, and in creative work in general.

Mikhaylov on National Problems

PM151425 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Mar 88 p 4

[Abridged version of speech by Aleksandr Mikhaylov (Moscow) at 1-2 March Plenum of USSR Writers' Union Board]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] What special circumstances are compelling us today to draw particular attention to national and international questions, to questions of the friendship and unity of the peoples, if fraternal relations have for many decades seemed a firm feature of life and if our union was one of the components of victory in the last war? For it cannot be said that we have no other problems which require the investment of tremendous spiritual potential for their resolution.

I believe that here too the time of stagnation, the time of depressingly ostentatious smugness, of the pursuit of prizes and awards which ate away at our moral foundations and awakened the most unhealthy ambitions played its destructive role; and these ambitions found expression in an ugly anomaly tinged with nationalism and chauvinism.

Let us recall the thirties. This was a time when the cultural revolution raced headlong to the outlying regions of the former tsarist Russia. I must say that the Russian people promoted this advance with very great generosity, sometimes to the detriment of their own interests and needs, devoting huge efforts and funds to the development of the national cultures of the other peoples and the awakening of their national consciousness, and to training national cadres. The international fraternity of the peoples united in the great aim of building socialism grew stronger on this basis.

I remember the war. There were Russians, Ukrainians, Kazakhs, a Tatar, a Jew, and a Georgian in my platoon, and then in my company—I spent the war in the infantry, in a rifle division. Even now I find it unlikely that any of them could at that time have begun to display any national ambitions. Everyone had one goal and one task, and it united the representatives of different nationalities.

From our 70 years' experience it has become obvious that national problems in a multinational state are resolved completely harmoniously if the peoples are united by a great purpose and are gripped by a common passion to achieve this purpose. Alas, this great goal has proved to have been eroded and compromised in the last few years.

The task facing us all now is one of very great complexity—that of overcoming the inertia of unbelief and pooling the spiritual and moral potential of all the peoples of the Soviet Union to implement the projected revolutionary transformations by the end of our century.

I consider it a most tremendous waste to expend nervous and creative energy on settling scores, backstage intrigue, and gossip, to splash this all over the press, to destroy the cultural heritage of our 70 years with poisonous words, and to horse around on gravestones.

I am by no means calling for calm and forgiveness. What calm can there be in our times? But I am calling for analysis. I am urging everyone to listen to one another and try to comprehend. Life in a developing society is inconceivable without discussion and polemics. Debate and controversy are a natural trend in literary life. Many people, not only myself, are alarmed and worried by the unbridled tone of certain polemical speeches. Making itself known is some base desire not merely to criticize, albeit sharply, not merely to condemn but—"to completely pulverize" a man so that he cannot recover, to pillory him, wipe out everything he has done in his life, and compromise his public and political persona. I have my doubts about the benefit of this sort of glasnost.

The main thing in any discussion is the purpose and the argument. A dispute without arguments is of a destructive nature, just like a flat denial whether it refers to the present or to the past in our history or in our culture. Any denial, any revision demands its own arguments. [passage omitted]

Georgian Scores Bureaucracy

PM151523 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Mar 88 p 8

[Abridged account of speech by Georgiy Tsitsishvili (Georgia) at 1-2 March Plenum of USSR Writers' Union Board]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The most tangible harm to the Soviet peoples' mutual understanding and unity can be inflicted by the voluntarist actions—lacking any economic and social sense—of certain "paid functionaries," as Comrade Gorbachev expressed it, and certain leaders of major establishments and central departments who often ignore the demands and needs of the union republics and the country's regions. Sometimes the fate of

some important state cause in one or other republic, kray, or oblast depends on a single stroke of the pen of a central establishment functionary.

For more than 20 years Georgia's leadership and public has opposed the plan target for tea by demonstrating that in a year we can harvest a maximum of only 300-350 thousand tonnes of tea (as compared with the plan target of 600-650 thousand), but unsuccessfully. This has had a lamentable effect on the quality of the once famous Georgian tea. In November last year our plan target was finally reduced, but during the lengthy period when we were trying to make our case, Georgian tea lost its former reputation.

Or this example: Until now the republic leadership has not been able to convince the USSR Gosplan that in the rayons of intensive tea and citrus production it is impossible to develop livestock and cattle breeding.

For more than 30 years the republic has not been able to overcome all-union departments' extravagance and convince them that in central Georgia it is not sugar beets but fruit which should be grown, since optimum conditions for it exist there.

I have cited these examples in order to support the thesis expressed by Comrade Gorbachev that republics' rights should be increased, including their representation on central state organs, and that it is essential to overcome the tyranny of paid functionaries and the regimentation and bureaucracy by transferring some of the central organs' powers to the localities so as to free the latter from the necessity of agreeing each step with the higher organization. It should be acknowledged that this is a most urgent question of national-state building.

One-sided, tendentious articles by certain central press organs seriously harm interethnic mutual understanding. An exceedingly large number of volunteer journalists have emerged who leave Moscow for all corners of the country to ferret out so-called "necessary material." Such correspondents do not trouble themselves to understand the ethnic content of the people about whom they are writing. How often we read articles and features in which they talk about ancient Georgians—Svans, Adzhars, and Mengrels—as if about representatives of some nonexistent nations.

I will not conceal the fact that certain publications in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, TRUD, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, and OGONEK have stirred up acute dissatisfaction among the public through their incompetence and tendentiousness. On the other hand, on the pretext of glasnost and democracy local demagogues have also reared their heads. They blatantly deceive public opinion, they send letters to all levels, accusing their compatriots of all kinds of sins, beginning with nationalism and an antiparty attitude. And unfortunately, some of these people are writers. The Georgian Union of Writers decided to take these people strictly to account and has already taken measures in this direction.

Our propaganda in the sphere of the national question is lagging intolerably behind, and it has still not been freed of blather, sloganizing, and aimless phraseology. When things are particularly difficult for us, our propaganda immediately recalls the glittering heights of communism. Constant reference to the future has devalued the present.

Special stress should be laid not on the distant future but on the present. Our people's life can be completely secure and truly happy in the very nearest future if, of course, we fulfill the plans connected with the revolutionary transformations.

Bukharin Attack on Yesenin Recalled

PM161157 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Mar 88 p 9

[Abridged account of speech by Yuriy Prokushev (Moscow) at 1-2 March Plenum of the USSR Writers' Union Board]

[Excerpt] I think that when we talk about the new thinking as regards the problems of today's plenum, and looking at the experience of the past, we have to determine our position very clearly and fear what has already happened over and over again. As soon as a writer is profoundly national in his creative work, as soon as he is openly in favor of preserving his national culture and national memory, and the more outstanding he is, the more frequently one hears, in the past and the present: You know, he is a nationalist.

All peoples in the past lost a great deal on account of this, and above all the Russian people who, for example, were deprived of Yesenin for decades. This is what was written about him not simply by a journalist but by a prominent political figure: "They tell us: The peasant poet of a transitional epoch died tragically because of his inability to adjust. It is not quite like that, dear friends! There are different kinds of peasants. Yesenin's poetry, in essence, is a muzhik who has half become a 'flashy guy': In shiny boots, wearing a silk tie and an embroidered shirt, today the 'flashy guy' falls at the feet of his 'Mistress,' tomorrow he kisses the icon, and the day after tomorrow he gets into a fight with a servant at an inn, and then 'sincerely' repents, weeps, and is willing to eat humble pie and make a contribution to the Troitsko-Sergiyevskaya Monastery 'for prayers for his soul.' He can even hang himself in an attic because of inner spiritual emptiness. A 'dear,' 'familiar,' 'truly Russian' picture!

"Ideologically Yesenin represents the most negative features of the Russian countryside and the so-called 'national character...'"

Unfortunately, this was written by N.I. Bukharin, who at the time was a Politburo member and editor of PRAVDA.

It is wonderful that justice is being restored, that N.I. Bukharin has been rehabilitated, it is wonderful that his article on Lenin has recently been published in PRAVDA. But if we are again going to proceed from one half-truth to another and pretend that Bukharin's article "Malicious Notes" on Yesenin did not exist, that PRAVDA did not publish it in January 1927, we will again be substituting one icon with another. Without a profound, objective, historical look at the past, we can choke on restructuring.

In a LITERATURNAYA GAZETA article on Khrushchev it was said with regret in passing that Khrushchev himself was involved in the repressions in the Ukraine and in Moscow. I think that if Khrushchev, in struggling against the cult of Stalin, had also mentioned his own guilt, this would have been morally correct and, possibly, would have enabled the struggle against the cult to be taken to its conclusion.

This is history. It is complicated, it is dramatic. It is very difficult and complicated, as the poet V. Fedorov said, "to be first in the world."

In his "Malicious Notes" Bukharin called for a "salvo" to be fired at "Yeseninism." Then Kruchenykh and certain others supported him without hesitation in their "writings." After this Yesenin was buried for 3 decades, robbing both Russian national culture and the culture of all peoples. [passage omitted]

Board Secretary on New Statute

PM151613 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Mar 88 p 10

[Unattributed account of report by Yu.N. Verchenko, USSR Writers' Union Board secretary, at 1-2 March Plenum of USSR Writers' Union Board: "On the Draft New Edition of the USSR Writers' Union Statute"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Broadening democratic processes within the structure of the Writers' Union is the problem which gives rise to the keenest polemics among literary figures. At a recent session of the secretariat to discuss the original version of the draft new edition of the statute which, after the finishing touches have been made, will be submitted for discussion by the literary community, the main attention was focused on the question of electivity to the union's leading organs. After a heated debate the secretariat decided to set a maximum term of office as secretary: 10 years, that is, two convocations. It is intended to establish a system whereby union secretaries have to submit a report after 2 years in elective office, and to provide the opportunity to recall those who are not up to the job. It has also been decided that writers in elective leading office must step down to a younger successor on reaching the age of 70.

The comrades have also talked a great deal about the excessively burgeoning secretariats of the USSR Writers' Union Board and a number of writers' organizations. We are now in the situation where 70 of the 320 members of the USSR Writers' Union Board are secretaries; that is, almost one in four members of the board is a secretary. This creates certain difficulties with regard to each secretary carrying out his practical duties.

There have been many proposals concerning the election of secretaries. It has been suggested that secretaries be elected at the plenum by secret ballot from among a number of candidates.

The draft statute envisages democratizing the entire system of election to the union's leading organs, leaving many issues to the discretion of writers' congresses, conferences, and general meetings. It is proposed to draw up instructions governing the procedure of competition to fill vacancies for the following positions: the heads of literary-arts journals and newspapers published by the union, the chief editors and chairmen of editorial councils in book publishing houses, and the position of rector of the A.M. Gorkiy Literary Institute. It has been decided to incorporate in the draft new edition of the statute the question of broadening the rights of the largest writers' organizations in the country—Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev—and giving them a status equal to that enjoyed by the republic writers' unions.

It is also felt that the question of rejuvenating the editorial collegiums of literary newspapers and journals which have not been renewed for many years deserves attention. For example, five writers have been members of the editorial collegium of the journal INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA for more than 20 years, while the corresponding figure for journal MOSKVA is six. Of the 13 members of the editorial collegium of the journal VOPROSY LITERATURY, 11 are over the age of 60. It is obvious that the most realistic term of office as member of an editorial collegium (this was agreed by the USSR Writers' Union Board Secretariat) is 10 years—15 at the maximum. In the future we must draw up a provision on the editorial collegiums of literary-arts journals, which will help to galvanize their work and enhance their militancy and creative output.

During the discussion it was proposed—and it seems to be a rational proposal—to elect the members of the "Sovetskiy Pisatel" Publishing House Board at the USSR Writers' Union Board plenum. This will increase the responsibility of every elected member and remove the likelihood of just anyone turning up on the board of this leading book publishing house.

Diametrically opposed views are being expressed on introducing a probationary period for candidates—some people are ardently in favor while others are opposed to the idea. The secretariat has suggested that we experiment with this in some republics and oblasts.

We think that writers' responsibility could be enhanced if it were made the rule to report in the republic literary press on young writers who submit an application to join the creative union and also on writers who have recommended the newcomers.

We believe that it would be right to incorporate the following point in the new draft edition of the statute: To hear reports at USSR Writers' Union Board plenums regarding action taken on critical observations and proposals made at previous plenums of the creative union. At our meetings and forums we often make sensible suggestions on ways to improve work which get forgotten and disappear into the mists of time. This is where formalism begins.

When discussing democratization processes one cannot fail to notice how much attention writers' organizations are giving to the questions of protecting writers' rights while discussing the draft new edition of the statute. For example, the Leningrad writers' organization has demanded that the following points be included in the draft statute: "To have the protection of the USSR Writers' Union in the event of any infringement on a writer's creative rights or copyright or any offense to his honor and dignity" and "to introduce the position of legal consultant in kray and oblast organizations with more than 40 members of the Writers' Union." We believe that these are very typical observations reflecting the nature of the processes currently taking place in the country. This has also been discussed by comrades from the Baltic region and the Transcaucasus.

Finally, it is proposed to introduce various addenda to the draft new edition of the statute concerning expansion of financial-economic and social-consumer activity by the writers' union.

Work is now under way to revise the Literary Foundation statute in favor of greater democracy, namely, election to the board and the presidium and also broader rights for Literary Foundation departments at republic level.

This work is not simple, because it involves the need to fully coordinate all the provisions of the USSR Writers' Union statute with those of the USSR Literary Foundation statute. But this process is under way and will be completed. [passage omitted]

The writer who professes socialist ideals will not, by virtue of his moral duty to mankind, accept the principles of creativity which Western ideologists consider a sign of "freedom" of literature: The cult of violence, the propaganda of war, the savoring of social ills, and the fanning of enmity between nations. The writer who consciously opposes these "principles" of bourgeois literature and seeks truth and social justice will definitely reach an understanding of his creativity's civil mission and an awareness of the principles of popular spirit and party-mindedness. This conscious service to revolutionary ideals, one's people, and one's party clearly accords with the method of socialist realism. The essence, as we can see, does not lie in artistic form but in the social and moral stance taken by the writer. Can we really reject the creative method, which is a supreme achievement of the revolution, the vitality of which is confirmed by our whole experience in the development of Soviet literature? No, we cannot. It is another matter that we must cleanse this method of old dogmas and decayed artistic regulations. Some thorough work has to be done by critics, philosophers, and literary specialists before we can incorporate a provision on the method of socialist realism in the USSR Writers' Union statute. [passage omitted]

Writer Warns Glasnost 'Must Not Stop Halfway'

PM161011 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with writer Vasil Bykov by Own Correspondent N. Matukovskiy under the "Viewpoint" rubric: "The Important Thing Is Not To Stop"; date, place not given]

[Text] Bykov: The most remarkable phenomenon of late has surely been the universal recognition of our need for restructuring. Particularly the development of the new consciousness, democracy, and glasnost. We have boldly faced up to the past, the present, and the future.

Matukovskiy: Yet there are people who try to claim, both in speech and in the press, that there should be no "tinkering" with the past! Things weren't all as "some men of letters" are now trying to portray them, they say. What is all this revision for, they ask.... What is your view of the people who so keenly defend the past?

Bykov: There have always been people who were quite content with their life, their power, and their legal and social status and who thus wanted no change in their lives. Now, too, they are prepared to do everything in their power to preserve their preferred ways, to justify them morally, and even to try scientifically to validate their "objective need." For example, they would like the prestige of their idol Stalin to remain inviolate because the downfall of their idol could destabilize their position, too. For them the truth is bound up with the risk of great losses. They have little concern for the fate of the new generation during whose lifetime the many years of lies are being dramatically overturned. Yet the fate of socialism is in the hands of that generation.

Yes, there is a debate about the figure of Stalin, people are comparing the myth with the reality. It is true that we built socialism and triumphed in the war when Stalin was general secretary, there was no one else at that time, he is incomparable. But this is just one aspect of the problem. We can discuss his leadership on the basis of a great many facts now that time has passed, even if historically speaking this is still the recent past. We can

see clearly his reprehensible methods and the colossal losses caused by his total distrust of everyone and his desire to resolve all the country's problems himself, even in those areas where he had no experience. Remember the example of the disk magazines for the Shpagin submachine gun, which former People's Commissar B.L. Vannikov described? Contrary to the opinion of all the specialists, Stalin preferred the magazines for the Finnish "Suomi" gun and ordered them to be produced in place of the curved ones. That decision cost millions of our infantry dear throughout the war. He is also associated with fatal decisions in science and culture. How can we not examine all this in detail? To avoid this problem on any pretext is nothing more than burying your head in the sand. Of course the solution of the problem could be delayed or, as happened during the sixties, left for later generations to deal with. But those later generations will hardly thank us for that. An illness, once driven below the surface, threatens consequences which are unpredictable...

Matukovskiy: Some of those who until recently were among the "nameless" assistants of the personality cult have now been named. We know their names, well and good. But what happens now?

Bykov: If we are serious in our intention of pursuing the policy of glasnost and democratization—and I personally have no doubts about that—we must not stop halfway, otherwise the revolution loses its momentum. N. Khrushchev performed a tremendous service by exposing the crimes of Stalin and his henchmen. But he stopped halfway. That was one of his greatest mistakes.

Times have changed now. Quite a few of those who long for Stalin are pouring scorn on him. What is more, they do this quite sincerely—this is their way of getting even with him in what is generally a comfortable but morally uneasy old age. Others still are succeeding in reviving phenomena long consigned to oblivion. For example, Lysenko's son claims that Academician Vavilov discredited himself and that Lysenkoism as a science long ago proved its superiority over Vavilovian genetics.

Strange as it may seem, the ranks of the revivalists are increasing all the time. Three months ago SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA published a deeply considered argument that the past informers and falsifiers should not be called to account on the grounds that they were devoted to Stalin and made a genuine mistake when they annihilated innocent people. A month later another author in the same newspaper went even further in giving a serious justification of the "guilt" of the well-known Belorussian scientist, Academician S. Nekrashevich, a victim of the repression in 1937 who was fully rehabilitated back in 1955. It makes you think: The newspaper is repeating the accusations made against a man who was rehabilitated long ago by decision of the USSR Supreme Court for lack of evidence of a crime. What is this? Political stupidity or an attempt to set the old machinery in motion again? I think that all this results from our unreasonable tolerance toward the consequences of that cult and its atmosphere of repression. A tolerance seen by some as a weakness which it would be a sin not to exploit. Unless we secure society against them there will be no safeguard against their treacherous attack.

Matukovskiy: Because our conversation has involuntarily "favored" the historical past, allow me to raise another bitter topic. The Church of the Annunciation in Vitebsk, dating from the 10th-12th centuries and where, according to tradition, Aleksandr Nevskiy was crowned, has been demolished; the same happened to the Church of the Transfiguration in Minsk, the house of Peter the First, the building in which the first Belorussian theater was housed....

Bykov: Once people are disregarded, their creations are also disregarded. The fact is that bureaucracy and culture are incompatible. Bureaucracy needs power, and it has no use at all for culture. If culture is tolerated, it is surely in the context of "sotskultbyt" [socialist consumerism] and so does not really exist at all. Have you not noticed that many people not only do not aspire to true culture today but often flaunt the lack of it? Hence the widespread and seemingly harmless vulgarity current not only among the masses but also at all levels of the bureaucracy. At the same time one sees the almost ritualized passion for clean collars, a painstakingly furnished office, Japanese equipment, academic titles...

Belorussia's material cultural assets have always been made to suffer: Each European war turned them into ruins. Nevertheless, some things remained, some small remnants of the past centuries. But our comrade bureaucrats gradually got to them, too. It was probably they who attacked the roots of culture in Minsk, Vitebsk, Polotsk, and Grodno. They were acting in the guise of the struggle against the "accursed past" and the "opium of the people," but the centuries-old history of the nation was destroyed.

And what was the outcome? Was someone reprimanded for this barbarity? Not as far as I know. Explosions thundered throughout the republic. Where there were no explosives or mechanical means were short, they adapted a quite primitive but equally effective method: A nimble steeplejack would clamber onto the roof of a temple and... rip open part of the roof. The snow, rain, and wind finished the job off. Was that long ago? Surely nothing like that happens today? Why was it necessary to build a subway station near the very walls of that architectural monument, the 17th century Cathedral Church? Could it not have been moved a few hundred meters away? Cracks have already appeared in the cathedral walls, even though the trains have not traveled through that area yet. What will happen when they do...? But, as always, the culprits will not be found. I am afraid that no one will look for them.

Matukovskiy: Vasil Vladimirovich, a writer, even if he writes about the remote past, cannot fail to think about the future. Essentially, everything that he does is for the future.... It is good when some hitherto unpublished works are published—they are necessary and important. But if we are talking about so-called contemporary themes, what literary heroes should appear in new books?

Bykov: That is not so easy to answer.... In the past 70 years Soviet literature has heard much that is diverse, often mutually exclusive, sometimes frankly speculative! So many general concepts have been produced! The desire for a hero to be imitated by the masses has sometimes gripped the Union of Writers so much that an emergency forum was immediately convened and literature was hurriedly set the corresponding tasks. Every age and every leader has insisted on the most flattering literary representation. Each most stagnant 5-year plan has demanded to be crowned with literary monuments. Professional and shop associations claimed the right to be perpetuated comprehensively in all genres. Literature did its best but no matter how hard it tried it could not avoid being reproached for lagging behind the turbulent times.

Consequently literature found itself on the verge of losing its literary criteria. Dull and unduly optimistic pieces of work had no point of comparison. Literature was not allowed the works which could serve as standards and which were found either in the editor's locked cabinet or in their authors' desk drawers. Such impressively uncompromising concern has been shown on this by whole detachments of editors, publishers, and critics, many of whom have now so enthusiastically given them the green light. They have already restructured themselves....

Matukovskiy: I should like to know your personal attitude to restructuring. In your view, what isn't going well in it? What must be restructured first of all?

Bykov: Everything needs restructuring—that is common knowledge. We have reached the point where all areas of life need the most radical restructuring. But the most important thing, the priority in my view, is the restructuring and in some way the fundamental changing of our consciousness. But this is also the most difficult thing. Of course, I should like everything to be completed as quickly as possible. But the process which we have begun is extraordinarily long, and we cannot speed it up or compress it into just a few years. Society's present-day self-awareness was formed over decades by the full force of social factors. Can all this be reworked in just 1-2 years? In other sociopolitical conditions and at another time I would probably have said that a radical change requires several generations. Now I would put it differently: We cannot allow ourselves to delay restructuring over many years. The historic opportunity afforded us must be used as quickly as possible. What is to be done? We must overcome the "no-can-do" principle. It is important not to stop. The slightest stoppage threatens reversal. And that would be a catastrophe for our hopes and plans.

Matukovskiy: How do you see restructuring in literature?

Bykov: I myself see it in the new and real penetration of literature into life, all its strata, and all its historical depth. For decades literature was content with highly striking and effective outbursts containing subtle stylistic passages at the level of bureaucratic banality. What sympathetic, philosophizing, progressive characters—production workers and leaders of all ranks—were scattered across the pages of our industrial and other novels, what paeans were sung to production triumphs, what exciting storms in fragile teacups we studied! And everything ended so fairly and to everyone's satisfaction!

But at that time real life was ruled by economic stagnation, legitimized misrepresentation, and environmental catastrophes. How could there have been the corruption of whole regions, the moral decay in the law enforcement organs? Literature didn't look? Writers were blindfolded? Writers saw everything: It is just that their vision was inadequate for literature.

Fortunately, present-day journalism was first to do battle for purification. We writers should take advantage of the new opportunities.

Matukovskiy: Do you not think, Vasil Vladimirovich, that recently some writers have been paying too much attention to relations between personalities? All this talk of dachas, apartments, and print runs...

Bykov: No, I do not think so. There is no vacuum in life, as you are aware. Relationships within society do not tolerate impropriety in relationships between people. The recent fuss among the acolytes of the muses is nothing other than a reaction after many years of silence during which so many problems became acute and people's places were defined. People's places were defined but no one dared say what they really thought of them—their ranks and the leaders protecting them prevented that. Inflated authorities flourished, phony figures abounded. And there were all sorts among them: the quiet, the smug, sometimes the aggressive, and the belligerent.

It was noted long ago that people love writers who have already "departed." The fate of Yesenin, Bulgakov, Pasternak, Tsvetayeva, Gumilev, Akhmatova, and many outstanding exponents of national cultures is surely indicative of this? But times are changing, and nothing remains, in the minds of millions, of the works of recent favorites of the powers that be and popular "hacks." This is clearly a manifestation of age-old wisdom and the supreme justice of life and literature.

Matukovskiy: Vasil Vladimirovich, I have deliberately refrained from asking you about your latest work.

Bykov: I am always afraid myself of talking about what does not yet exist....

Intellectuals' Letter to Gorbachev Reported

PM181134 Paris LE MONDE in French 18 Mar 88 p 2

[Bernard Guetta dispatch: "USSR: 107 Intellectuals Ask Gorbachev To Erect Monument to Commemorate Victims of Stalinism"]

[Excerpts] Moscow—A group of 107 top Soviet press and cultural representatives recently addressed a joint letter to Gorbachev, asking him for the Central Committee's support for the erection of a monument to commemorate the victims of Stalinist repression.

This idea, launched at the end of last year, has already received the support of several well-known intellectuals, the Writers' Union organ LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, and 5,000 signatories of a petition still circulating among several institutes and theaters. Nevertheless the sending of this letter to Gorbachev marks a spectacular evolution in the intelligentsia's political attitude both to the "restructuring" process and in the increasingly lively debate on the reappraisal of Soviet history prompted by the "openness" policy during the past year.

Indeed it is the first time that so many people representing the efforts and hopes of liberalization have decided to take a joint political initiative. It outlines the features of a movement that is not longer a mere agglomeration of the most determined advocates of "perestroyka" and "glasnost" but an actual current, albeit without any kind of organization, that feels more sharply than before the need to display its weight in order to make itself heard.

It is such a novelty that most of the signatories demanded that their names not be published and that there be no direct quotes from their letter.

I must therefore confine myself here to indicating that the signatories include not only (and unsurprisingly) Cinematographers' Union Chairman Elem Klimov and such well-known novelists as Anatoliy Rybakov but also eight academicians or corresponding members of the academy, six theater directors, and four chief editors of official newspapers and journals including NOVYY MIR's Sergey Zaligin. [passage omitted]

The least that can be said is that the signatories are setting their sights high by asking Gorbachev not only for the party's support for the monument's erection but also for the official registration of the public enterprise committee formed to this end, the organization of a conference at the end of the year on the history of the Stalinist era, and, last, the opening of a research center devoted to the period, with its own museum and library. At the 22d congress in 1961 Khrushchev too called for a monument to the victims of Stalinism—a proposal that was soon forgotten.

According to the 107, this combination of measures would enjoy great support from the people—as already shown, they claim, by the formation of several local initiative committees-and would make it possible to mold the awareness of future generations to avert a recurrence of the terror. These measures, they conclude, would also make it possible to strengthen the foreign public's confidence in the Soviet proposals for a nuclear-free world. [passage omitted]

Activities of State Arbitration Organs Viewed

PM151549 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Reinforcing Legality and Contract Discipline"]

[Text] Progress in implementing the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers Resolution of 12 February 1987 "On Further Improving the Activity of State Arbitration Organs and Enhancing their Role in Reinforcing Legality and Contract Discipline in the National Economy" has been discussed at the USSR State Arbitration Court with the participation of union republic arbitrators.

It was noted in the report of N.P. Malshakov, USSR chief state arbitrator, and other speeches, that state arbitration courts are still not exercising persistently and vigorously enough the powers invested in them to prevent law violations and to monitor the observance of contract discipline in the national economy to eliminate the causes and circumstances which lead to nonfulfillment of output and goods delivery contract commitments, the production of substandard goods, shortages, spoilage, and other major losses of material values through mismanagement which are written off as production costs.

Measures to enhance the protection of the rights and interests of enterprises and associations laid down in the Law on the State Enterprise and other legislative documents relating to the economic reform, and to strengthen the role of economic contracts in the reinforcement of delivery discipline, and introducing in this context specific changes in arbitration practice, were discussed.

The conference was attended by V.A. Abolentsev, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Administrative Organs Department.

Reader Calls For More Truth About Stalin

PM170934 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Mar 88 Second Edition p 2

[Selection of readers' letters in response to "Express Analysis" polls: "From the 'Express Analysis' Mailbag"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] Our newspaper has twice—on 2 February and 1 March—published "Express Analysis" polls in which we have asked readers to express their opinions about KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. These polls, as well as reviews of the responses, will be published monthly, as has already been reported. At the same time we intend regularly to print selections of readers' opinions, views, and proposals put forward in these polls. We offer the first such selection for your attention. [passage omitted]

[Letter from I. Andreychenko, Belovo, Kemerovo Oblast] I am a man of my time, I was raised and grew up in the era which was called the Stalinist era. Stalin's name was sacred to me, and more than once, at the front, I went into the attack shouting the slogan "For the Motherland, for Stalin!".... But now it is becoming clear how much people like me did not know.

Like many people who were at the front, I take part in military-patriotic work with young people. And recently in our talks I find myself more and more frequently coming across ticklish questions (young people today are very intelligent) which I am often unable to deal with. Please write more of the truth about Stalin and his "entourage," and especially about those who suffered as a result of the personality cult, including such prominent figures in our Armed Forces as Blyukher, Tukhachevskiy, Gamarnik, Yegorov.... At least let me know the whole truth as my life comes to an end!

I. Andreychenko,
Belovo,
Kemerovo Oblast.

Paper's Readers Differ on Stalinism, Glasnost

PM181139 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 15 Mar 88 p 1

[Letters Department Editor G. Terekhova article: "The Week's Mailbag"]

[Excerpts] To begin with, a few words about response to the material we have published. These letters are exceptionally important for us: It is by them that we judge whether the newspaper's publication has touched some important social nerve or has proved to be a blank shot. [passage omitted]

L. Ovrutskiy's article "The Measure of the Law and Excesses of Lawlessness" (27 February) brought contradictory responses, heatedly arguing with one another. As a matter of fact, this is how the reading public reacts today to any article concerning events from our history in the thirties—the topic is controversial and the sharpness of judgment matches it. "A very correct and necessary article," V.K. Yegorov writes from Kuybyshev. "One can understand the author's words about sparing doses of truth, while not incontrovertible, being at least understandable. All this is plausible, but could it not happen that any delay in curing the most dreadful disease—the epidemic of lies—could turn into a fate 'worse than death'?" Contrast this with the letter from teacher V.S. Lozhkin writing from Tonshayevo Settlement in Gorkiy Oblast: "The article left a kind of unpleasant aftertaste. I am no supporter of Stalinism, even though I belong to the generation which the author treats sarcastically in his article ('some semirespectable housing committee member...'). For a long time I have been one of its, Stalinism's, convinced opponents. But there is no need to depict our people like primitive individuals in a state of mindless blindness. At that time, during the thirties, people believed the party and its leaders. You can condemn us for that if you like. This phenomenon has yet to be investigated. Yes, there was everything—heroism and meanness, great accomplishments and concentration camps, victories and irreparable losses. I repeat, it is necessary to calmly and objectively investigate why this happened to us, rather than going all out to denigrate our history." [passage omitted]

Many readers express their suggestions and wishes, correctly assuming that success in the process of democratic renewal which the country is now experiencing depends greatly on us newspaper workers. Here is what our reader Comrade Zavgorodnenko (who did not give his initials) writes from Moscow: "Newspapers target their fire mainly on isolated negative instances and fail to expose the root causes which have brought them about.

"You still evade the question: What else, in addition to individual self-improvement, must be undertaken in the legal and economic spheres to accelerate restructuring and guarantee the irreversibility of the incipient processes?

"I would like to read more about measures to combat the leaders of 'teams' obstructing the creation of an atmosphere of glasnost, about the work by courts to protect the rights of working people being persecuted for criticism, about how to avoid a purely formal implementation of initial measures on the democratization of collectives' life (election of enterprise leaders, labor collective councils, and so on), about the main provisions of the draft Law on the Press.

"Now nobody is likely to be surprised simply by a sharply-worded article. Yes, frankly speaking, readers are already somewhat immune to the revelation of shortcomings. I believe that everyone expects newspapers to cover the problems and analyze the causes of these shortcomings."

The press is also reproached in a letter by Junior Scientific Associate Mikhail Alekseyevich Terentyev (32 years old, nonparty member):

"The latest Central Committee plenum in February. Cadre changes. Glasnost. Democratization. Observers report that the world press is discussing the outcome and the results of the solution of organizational questions, making forecasts, suggestions, and comments. All over the world, except in our own country. After all, someone new, a candidate member of the Politburo or a Central Committee member, means a new opinion, a new position, a new way of thinking, new plans, new deeds. If only we could read a biosketch and a brief interview. Our press carries nothing, as if nobody worried about all this (maybe nobody does!)?" [passage omitted]

As you can see, the newspaper's readers raise serious, topical, and interesting topics and suggestions. We accept them!

'Flaws' Seen in Search for Truth About Past

PM151155 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Mar 88 p 1

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, Professor Boris Kanevskiy, senior science associate at the USSR Defense Ministry Military History Institute: "History in the Search for Truth"; boldface as published]

[Text] We are currently involved in the complex, largely contradictory process of developing a new interpretation of our own history, particularly our post-October history. This process must be free of extremes—idealization on the one hand, and vilification on the other. The real point of this process is to grasp historical truth as fully as possible.

But for this to happen our researchers, mainly our historians, have a great deal of work to do. In particular, they have to thoroughly reinterpret many pages in the history of the Civil War, the Great Patriotic War, and our Armed Forces.

They must, for example, provide a fuller, more authentic explanation of the reasons for our setbacks at the beginning of the Great Patriotic War. There are serious grounds for not exaggerating, as has been done in the past, the role played by the suddenness of fascist Germany's attack. We should not be focusing our attention on this but on the gross errors of the leadership in its assessment of the military-political situation and its determination of the main directions of the fascist attack. The problem of our losses in the war remains a "blank." We have to clarify concepts in describing and analyzing individual battles and engagements of crucial significance to the war. For example, the suggestion made by writer K. Simonov, who quotes Marshal G.K. Zhukov, that the battle of Moscow followed a different course than hitherto thought, must be closely studied by experts to establish its accuracy. According to him, by the time we began our counterstrike the German troops had already been ordered to retreat. This in no way diminishes the merit of our army, however.

When evaluating the role and military expertise of any military commander we must obviously also apply very important criteria such as the effectiveness of the operations he conducted. We have to consider the cost of the victory and whether the end result merited the losses incurred. These and a number of other complex problems which must be solved in order to reconstruct the real history of the last war now face the authors of the 10-volume work entitled "The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet People 1941-1945" which, following a decision by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, is being prepared by the USSR Defense Ministry Military History Institute in conjunction with other scientific establishments. The scientific standard and historical authenticity of this research work depend largely, if not decisively, on the full use of the document base. Unfortunately, we have still not managed to gain access to the archive material necessary for this.

Those who have joined the quest for the historical truth are taking an enormous responsibility on their shoulders. Unfortunately, not all of them are managing to rise to the occasion. Some of them are being let down by their lack of a sense of proportion. It is sometimes the case that, under the guise of renouncing obsolete stereotypes and dogmas, highly doubtful innovations are being put forward.

Here are a few examples. In the journal VEK XX I MIR (No 10, 1987) A. Nuykin claims that real patriotic education need not necessarily have a "military slant." Why the need to so rigidly contrast military-patriotic and antiwar education? Is there really any need to contend that hatred of war can and must be combined with readiness to repel possible aggression, the danger of which is still, alas, one of the harsh realities of our time? Surely it is obvious that military-patriotic education contains the idea of antiwar education? How well it has been put by one publication, which said that our military doctrine is essentially an "antiwar doctrine." Apart from this, it is hard to see how the author conceives of this kind of separate education in practice. Surely this approach is clearly in conflict with the constitutional principles of military-patriotic education, according to which defense of the socialist fatherland is the sacred duty of every Soviet citizen and the cause of all the people?

I believe that certain statements on the problem of prisoners should also be ranked among the flaws in the current search for the historical truth. In an attempt to rehabilitate those who were taken prisoner by the fascists against their will, some writers are using the following argument: Prisoners are virtually a logical consequence of war.

But most alarming of all are attempts to prove that circumstances and conditions warranting surrender are possible in war. Claims like these blaspheme against those who suffered the rigors of war. The regulation that nothing, not even the threat of death, should compel a member of the Soviet Armed Forces to surrender has always been and remains a sacred commandment for every Soviet military serviceman.

It is another matter entirely that servicemen who have been taken prisoner against their will and set an example of great moral strength in this kind of ordeal deserve to be remembered well. The fate of those who are still missing without trace merits no less attention. The fact that the necessary measures were not taken immediately after the war—when the tracks were still fresh—to establish the fate of these people is nothing short of criminal neglect. Despite its incredible complexity, this problem must now be solved nevertheless, but not through sweeping, indiscriminate rehabilitation for all. Research efforts must be stepped up. At the moment, however, military commissariats and local and even central organs of power are making very feeble efforts in this direction. **Millions of cases lie untouched in the central archives of the USSR Defense Ministry. This would be a worthy field for young people to show patriotic energy and initiative.** A fine proposal was made at the all-union meeting of Komsomol members and young people dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution: to form detachments of young enthusiasts to help in the study and analysis of archive material relating to the Great Patriotic War period. Who, if not young people, should lead the search today for historical truth?

'Secret Services' Backed Latvian 'Bandits'

LD160937 Moscow TASS in English 0829 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Riga March 16 TASS—TASS correspondent Valdis Sirmgalvis reports:

In the first years of the liberation of Latvia (Baltic region) by the Soviet army from the Hitler invaders in 1944 Latvian bourgeois nationalists pinned their hopes on the possibility of Western countries intervening in the USSR. This conclusion was reached by well-known Latvian historian Janis Riekstins who studied the archive documents of that time.

Retreating, Hitlerites left in Latvian forests armed gangs from local collaborationists and nationalists. It was they who drew the attention of U.S. and British secret services. The groups of Arturs Arnitis, Rihard Zande and other agents, trained in those countries, were smuggled into Latvia to coordinate the bandits' terrorist activity.

Janis Riekstins found that Hitler's former accomplices, who maintained contacts with Western secret centers, killed more than 1,500 people prior to 1952. The 60-year-old peasant Marta Kljavinja, for instance, was killed only because she refused to supply the gang with food. The same lot befell the Balevicej couple. In June 1946, the bandits burnt alive the Koletov family and a year later killed all residents of Kamenes village. They dealt most harshly with those who welcomed the restoration of Soviet power in Latvia.

As the bandits themselves admitted, Western secret services heated up their hope for a military intevention. As the economic and military might of the USSR grew and socialist transformations were carried out in Latvia, the illusions harboured by bourgeois nationalists were totally dispelled and they halted armed resistance.

Ukrainian Historian Watches Developments Abroad

AU181356 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 3 Mar 88 p 2

[Statement by Doctor of Historical Sciences I.S. Khmilin from a "roundtable discussion" on "the topical problems of historical science and the present time," sponsored by the History Institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and the editorial board of the journal UKRAINSKYY ISTORYCHNYY ZHURNAL, and with an audience of 300: "This is My Opinion..."—published in a box; time and place of discussion not given]

[Text] Our efforts to reinterpret what we hitherto have (or have not) elucidated in history, and to reproduce the truth of history, far from shifting the task of criticizing bourgeois historiography to the background, have, on the contrary, made it more topical. We know well how high the interest manifested by Western anti-Soviet circles in the Ukraine is, and how widely ramified the network of centers for the study of the Ukraine is in the West—both those created at some time by bourgeois nationalist emigres, and those newly created within the academic system and within the Western intelligence and propaganda apparatus. Since 1960 alone, 24 doctoral theses referring in one way or another to the Ukrainian SSR—including our republic's history and present development, its culture, literature, and language—are defended abroad annually, mainly in the United States of America and Canada.

What concerns us at present, however, in not only the broad front of bourgeois historiography that opposes us, but also and primarily the way we have to restructure in order to make our criticism of that historiography really effective and assailant. It is to be borne in mind that the falsification of Ukrainian history from the nationalist point of view is presently an occupation practiced by the whole of bourgeois historiography, and not only by Ukrainian counterrevolutionary emigres and their descendants. This is one of the propaganda moves used by imperialism in its ideological struggle against socialism. The only conclusion is: History has been and remains a sphere of the bitter ideological struggle. Our

weapon in this struggle is truth and, once again, truth expounded from the positions of Marxist-Leninist methodology and in conformity with the interests of socialism.

Correction to Sumgait First Secretary Dismissal

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Sumgait Leaders 'Relieved' From Duties" under the subhead "Raykom First Secretary," published in the 17 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 34:

paragraph one, only sentence: A plenum of the Sumgait Gorkom of the Azerbaijan Communist Party has been held to examine organizational matters. (changing "raykom" to "gorkom")

All subsequent references to "raykom" should also read "gorkom."

Economic

Cooperative Law Changes Kolkhozes' Practices

PM161000 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Mar 88 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Article by Hero of Socialist Labor A. Ananyev, USSR Writers' Union Board secretary; Doctor of Juridical Sciences G. Bystrov; and Hero of Socialist Labor V. Starodubtsev, All-Russian Kolkhoz Council chairman, under the rubric "Reading the Draft Law 'On the Cooperative System in the USSR'": "The Countryside Is Tired of Commands"]

[Text] In the time that has elapsed since the 27th CPSU Congress much has been done to update the legal mechanism oriented toward the introduction of the principles of full economic accountability in the national economy. The Law on the State Enterprise is now in its 3d month of operation. The transition of the agro-industry to full economic accountability has received legal support. The public's attention is now focused on the draft USSR Law "On the Cooperative System in the USSR." It should form a reliable basis for the expansion of cooperative forms of production and services. At the same time, as a detailed study of the draft shows, some provisions of the document prompt justified criticism.

As is well known, in the late twenties the kolkhoz was deemed to be the basic and sole form of collective cooperative farming. Consequently there arose an underestimation of the role of simple production associations [tovarishchestva] in land reclamation, seed raising, and livestock raising. There was also underestimation of the role of cooperatives which had proved their viability in the sphere of supply, sales, credit, and processing of agricultural output, through which the main bulk of peasants were brought into socialist building.

Many difficulties in the development of the agricultural cooperative system also arose because of the underestimation of the role and significance of the kolkhoz form of production. The practice of mass reorganization of kolkhozes and sovkhozes was associated with this. Attempts to accelerate the creation of integrated forms of farms based on state ownership and the belief in the miracle of "sovkhozization" did not help secure a solution to the food question.

Today it is particularly important not to forget these lessons of the past. Any underestimation of the active role of agricultural cooperatives in strengthening socialist production or mechanical transformation of kolkhozes into sovkhozes is just as dangerous to the resolution of the countryside's economic and social problems as a tendency to ignore the leading role of state ownership.

It is entirely logical that the draft Law on the Cooperative System acknowledges the dominant position in agriculture of the kolkhoz as a large collective commodity producer collaborating on a contractual basis with other enterprises of the agro-industrial complex. At the same time the state supports the development of small agricultural production and servicing cooperatives, of which more and more are appearing in the Moscow region and in the republics of the Baltic, Central Asia, and Transcaucasia.

It would be a mistake, however, to think that a large number of these small cooperatives will appear in the countryside and the production of meat, milk, and butter will immediately increase. Here it is worth recalling V.I. Lenin's warning of the danger inherent in the naive faith of some officials, who assume that all problems can be resolved by means of decrees.

Today it is clear to everyone that to resolve the increasingly acute economic and social problems in the countryside, it is necessary first of all to overcome the indifference of kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers to the results of labor and to revive and cultivate their proprietorial attitude to the land, the people's wealth, and labor.

Experience shows that it is the small cooperatives that are paving the way to true economic accountability, a high level of material interest, and responsibility on the part of the producer for the end results of work. At the same time the strengthening of economic independence can be ensured in practice here. From this viewpoint approval should be given to Point 4 of Article 30 of the draft, which provides for the right of small cooperatives to sell agricultural output independently, settle accounts for labor remuneration and social insurance and with the state budget, and open accounts in financial institutions.

However, the draft law does not settle everything concerning matters of the organization and activity of small agricultural cooperatives. It is not clear, for instance, by

what procedure small cooperatives are provided with machinery and other resources. Do they have the right autonomously to conclude contracts for production and technical services, can they obtain credit for the purchase of livestock, machinery, and seed, what are the limits of their autonomy on the matter of the work and leisure system?

Nor is it possible to bypass in silence the fact that some people locally are hampering the organization of small cooperatives, fearing competition from skilled, enterprising peasants. We have heard it said many times that such cooperatives are all but a revival of "kulaks" and "private ownership." Such sentiments, which are detrimental to the restructuring, must be resolutely resisted. To this end it will clearly be necessary to continue work to improve the legal regulation of the activity of small cooperatives and clarify their position in the law on the agricultural cooperative system, which is to be based on the general Law on the Cooperative System.

For a long time the relationship between the state and kolkhozes was based on command and administrative mehtods of management, which undermine the principles of kolkhoz democracy. This practice was condemned in the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, which pointed out that the activity of kolkhozes should be based on economic autonomy and self-management.

This proposition is reflected in the draft Law on the Cooperative System, which shuns petty, detailed regulations governing kolkhozes' activity and formulates the role that alongside its basic agricultural activity the kolkhoz "is permitted to do everything that is not prohibited." It also enshrines new rules stating that losses caused by the interference of higher bodies are subject to compensation by those bodies (Point 2, Article 9).

While assessing these innovations positively, we must also acknowledge something else. The norms in the draft are formulated in the most general, unspecific form, and at times they are excessively declarative and diffuse. For instance, Point 2, Article 30, declares that the kolkhoz is a collective commodity producer, Point 1, Article 31 proclaims that the kolkhoz autonomously plans its production and social development, but Point 2, Article 31 speaks of the state order, which is equated to a directive instruction. In essence this means that under a new name, as was noted at the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum, the old forms of command persist and the significance of economic methods of management is underestimated.

The problem of the autonomy of kolkhozes on matters of planning has been waiting for a solution for more than 30 years. Locally they are still issued with commands as to the number of animals, what to sow, and when to sow it. The practice of issuing strong farms with targets for the above-plan sale of produce has yet to be eradicated. Unbalanced planning, not linked to the kolkhozes' resource potential, is widespread. In Yaroslavl Oblast the leaders of weak farms are not allowed to reduce areas sown with flax, although there is nobody to harvest it, and every year they burn it off in the spring.

The question arises: Why did the methods and style of management of kolkhozes and sovkhozes not change with the creation of agro-industrial organs? There are many reasons for this. We will indicate just one of them. It is connected with the excessive centralization and bureaucratization of management and the unreliability of material and technical supply and production and technical services to agriculture.

Suffice it to say that in Yaroslavl Oblast alone for every farm there are five managers in the rayon and oblast agro-industrial apparatus. The consequence of this is the excessive and unnecessary torrent of paperwork sent to the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Take the following example. The "50 Let Oktyabrya" Kolkhoz in Odessa Oblast's Tatarbunarskiy Rayon received 318 telegrams in 1987, urging the farm to spread mineral fertilizers, write off trucks, sell seed....

So we cannot flatter ourselves that the draft Law on the Cooperative System contains adequate measures to prevent arbitrary interference by the higher authorities in the kolkhozes' internal affairs. In this sense it is not fully in accordance with the 27th CPSU Congress decisions, which instructed party and soviet organs to stop any attempts to exert pressure or administrative influence on kolkhozes. We think that Point 2, Article 9 of the draft needs the addition of a norm stating that the kolkhoz has the right to refuse to fulfill instructions issued in violation of existing legislation and appeal against them to the higher authority within a 10-day period. The decision to declare such instructions ineffective should belong to judicial organs.

The transfer of enterprises and organizations of the agro-industrial complex onto full economic accountability and self-financing requires a major renewal of kolkhoz democracy, at a statewide level too, and the elimination of excessive centralization and bureaucratic accretions in the activity of agro-industrial organs. The consistent widening and deepening of kolkhoz democracy is impossible without legal protection for the kolkhozes against any arbitrary decisions and bureaucratic administration on the part of state organs. That is associated with the creation of a Union of Agricultural Cooperatives, whose main task is to intensify the process of democratization of economic life in the countryside and promote the further development of the kolkhoz movement.

Only on this basis can the organizational and legal conditions be created for the revival of the cooperative system on the basis of the principles of voluntary membership, autonomy of collective economic management, social equality, and social justice in labor and distribution relations. Therefore what is needed is not partial

improvements in the activity of nonviable kolkhoz councils, which have no real power, but the radical revolutionary renewal of the democratic principles of kolkhoz management.

To resolve this task work should continue on preparing a special law on the agricultural cooperative system on the basis of the general Law on the Cooperative System. On the basis of a legal document of this kind it will be possible to fully resolve the vital socioeconomic and political problems of the development of agriculture.

Something else must also be recognized at last. Agricultural cooperatives have fundamental peculiarities. It cannot be denied that agriculture to this day has not lost the peculiarities that V.I. Lenin spoke of as absolutely ineradicable. The point is that unlike urban cooperatives, kolkhozes use the land as the main means of production, they use living organisms, and agricultural production is by its nature seasonal and depends on natural, climatic, and other conditions.

We must not ignore these living realities or close our eyes to the substantial differences in the activity of urban and agricultural cooperatives. Obviously the Law on the Cooperative System cannot resolve all the problems associated with legal provisions for various aspects of kolkhozes' activity as cooperative agricultural enterprises.

The Law on the Cooperative System should itself make provision for a norm stating that the peculiarities of the activity of kolkhozes and other agricultural cooperatives are covered by the law on the agricultural cooperative system. In this case there would be no need for the Law on the Cooperative System to contain a special section on the peculiarities of agricultural cooperatives.

Scientific

'Molniya-1' Communications Satellite Launched

LD180820 Moscow TASS in English 0810 GMT 18 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 18 TASS—The communications satellite, Molniya-1, next in the series, was launched in the Soviet Union on March 17, 1988. The satellite is designed to ensure the operation of long-distance telephone and telegraph radio communication and also to transmit Soviet central television programmes to the Orbita network stations.

The satellite was put into a high elliptical orbit with the following parameters: 40,584 kilometers (apogee) in the Northern Hemisphere and 655 kilometers (perigee) in the Southern Hemisphere. The satellite's period of revolution is 12 hours 15 minutes. The orbit's inclination is 62.9 degrees.

The communications sessions via the Molniya-1 satellite will be held under the programme planned.

More on Launch of Indian Satelite 'IRS-1A'

India Gains Space 'Authority'

LD170733 Moscow TASS in English 0730 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—An Indian artificial earth satellite was launched from the Soviet Baykonur spaceport located in the territory of Kazakhstan today. It is the first Indian satellite to which the Soviet Union provided commercial launch services to rocket it into space.

The USSR and India have maintained cooperation in space research for twenty years now and throughout all these years Indian specialists have been confidently gaining among the members of the "space powers club" an authority in one of the most promising areas of cosmonautics—the study of the natural resources from the near terrestrial orbit. Sending aloft the new IRS satellite is a logical follow-up on this national programme, the beginning to which was set by the launching of the first Indian satellite, Aryabhata, from the Soviet cosmodrome 13 years ago.

Over these years, Indian specialists have worked a lot at Soviet satellite flight control centers and studied well the control systems accepted in the USSR. As a result, they arrived at the conclusion that they can develop a uniform system of the study of India's natural resources from space by far more effectively in partnership with the USSR not only in the form of cooperation but also on the basis of commercial relations.

Their new satellite, IRS, is the first craft whose launching will be paid by the Indian side to the Soviet Union. The flight will be controlled by a Soviet monitoring station near Moscow and the Indian control center in Bangalore.

Satellite Working 'Perfectly'

LD171801 Moscow TASS in English 1728 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] New Delhi March 17 TASS—Correspondent Sergey Solovyov reports:

The Indian Space Research Organisation reports that all Indian ground tracking stations have begun receiving data from the Indian IRS-1A research satellite, that was successfully launched from the Soviet Baykonur Cosmodrome today.

Scientists at the satellite control station near Bangalore said that the satellite was in excellent condition and all its systems were operating perfectly.

Camera 'Switched On'

BK181314 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1230 GMT 18 Mar 88

[Text] Space scientists today successfully switched on one of the two cameras on board the Indian remote sensing satellite IRS-1A. The linear imaging camera began operating after the satellite was tilted to face the earth upon command from the ground control. According to the Indian Space Research Organization, the satellite is performing satisfactorily.

Dunayev on 'IRS-1A,' Prospects for Cooperation

LD172356 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Interview with Aleksandr Dunayev, chief of Glavkosmos, by correspondent L. Lazarevich; date and place not given]

[Text] We have already reported today that the Indian satellite IRS-1A has been put into orbit by a Soviet rocket. Its flight is taking place according to plan. Our correspondent Leonid Lazarevich has had an interview with Aleksandr Ivanovich Dunayev, the chief of Glavkosmos:

[Begin recording] [Lazarevich] Aleksandr Ivanovich, the IRS satellite has orbited the earth several times now. Could you tell us what the results are of the launch, the first initial results?

[Dunayev] The satellite has been put into an orbit in line with the agreement we have reached with the Indian Space Research Organization. The satellite has been placed in an orbit with parameters that are considerably better than those projected in the agreement. We have thereby created an opportunity for the service life to be twice that intended for the project.

[Lazarevich] It was planned for the satellite to stay 2 or 3 years in orbit, was it not?

[Dunayev] Perhaps up to 18 months, or 2 years. Maybe 2 and 1/2 years.

[Lazarevich] This is our first experience in the commercial use of space technology. We have seen that today FRG business representatives were at the launch. Previously, Americans were here. What are the prospects for our rocket booster to be used for this sort of commercial purpose?

[Dunayev] At present, since the time we showed our space services at an exhibition in Switzerland and the Western world realized that our goods can operate and that we indeed can offer our space technology at reasonable prices, the mood in the West has started changing considerably for the better. German firms from the FRG have expressed a great interest. They wish to hold serious talks with us. These opportunities could be even better if an agreement existed between us and the FRG. We have submitted our proposals on this. We think that with their attitude being favorable, we will be developing cooperation in this direction.

[Lazarevich] With other countries, too, will you not? Not just with the FRG?

[Dunayev] Everyone knows that we have by now concluded a commercial agreement with the U.S. firm Space Commerce. We have agreed with it that we will take part in carrying out U.S. experiments aboard our Mir station. However, today the agreement that we have reached even with U.S. firms on launching satellites have been stalled for a while because the position of the U.S. Administration remains the same. Up until now, the U.S. Administration has not granted a license (?for satellites to be launched by Soviet rockets). We think that in connection with the general atmosphere existing nowadays between our countries, this situation may well change for the better. [end recording]

[Announcer] So, the Soviet rocket booster has taken to orbit a major research laboratory created by Indian experts. The satellite weighs 940 kg. It will help that friendly country efficiently utilize its natural resources.

On Commercial Use of Rocketry

LD172120 Moscow TASS in English 1805 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Baykonur March 17 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Zheleznov:

The Soviet booster rocket Vostok today placed in high near-polar orbit an Indian satellite launched on the basis of a commercial agreement between the Soviet association Litsenzintorg and the Indian Space Research Organisation.

The first measurements of the orbit showed that the placement of the satellite in orbit did not [word indistinct] much fuel and the minimum amount of it would be required for the subsequent adjustment of the flight path.

Aleksander Dunayev, head of the Chief Administration for the Development and Use of Space Engineering for the Economy and Research (Glavkosmos), said that this would make it possible to keep more fuel on board the satellite and, therefore, operate it not two-three years as planned, but nearly twice as longer [as received].

Asked about prospects for the commercial use of Soviet rocketry by other countries, Dunayev said: "The entire

range of space services which the USSR is ready to provide was demonstrated at a Soviet show in the Swiss city of Montreux recently.

Western businessmen hold that Soviet space equipment is reliable and economic. West German representatives, for instance, expressed the desire to hold talks in May-June on experiments on board Soviet spacecraft in the field of microgravity and carry out testing on board the Mir (Peace) station.

Individual firms show interest in cooperation. Dornier, for example, would like to have a satellite launched by a Soviet booster rocket.

By the way, the launch of the Indian satellite was watched by Dr. F. Wilhelm Christians, chairman of the board of Deutsche Bank AG which is studying the possibility of commercial ties between firms in the Federal Republic and Glavkosmos." [quotation mark as received]

"As to commercial contacts with the United States," Dunayev said, "One can mention so far only cooperation with fellow systems on conducting American experiments at the Soviet orbital station Mir.

The implementation of a corresponding agreement on the launch of American satellites by Soviet boosters was suspended because the U.S. Administration has not as yet issued a licence to bring those satellites to the USSR."

On Upcoming Shuttle Launch

LD181427 Moscow World Service in English 1400 GMT 18 Mar 88

[Text] The head of the Soviet space authority Glavkosmos has announced that the USSR is to launch a space shuttle shortly. The official, Aleksandr Dunayev, told a news conference in Moscow that the date of the launching would be announced in advance and that the event would be telecast live.

Aleksandr Dunayev said the Soviet space shuttle was in several respects different from its American counterpart. He said that in developing the space shuttle the Soviet Union had chosen its own way and did not copy American shuttles. Aleksandr Dunayev said that it was still to be decided what role space shuttles would play in the Soviet space program, which used a broad variety of conventional systems used only once. The Soviet Union, Aleksandr Dunayev said, will build as many space shuttles as it will need.